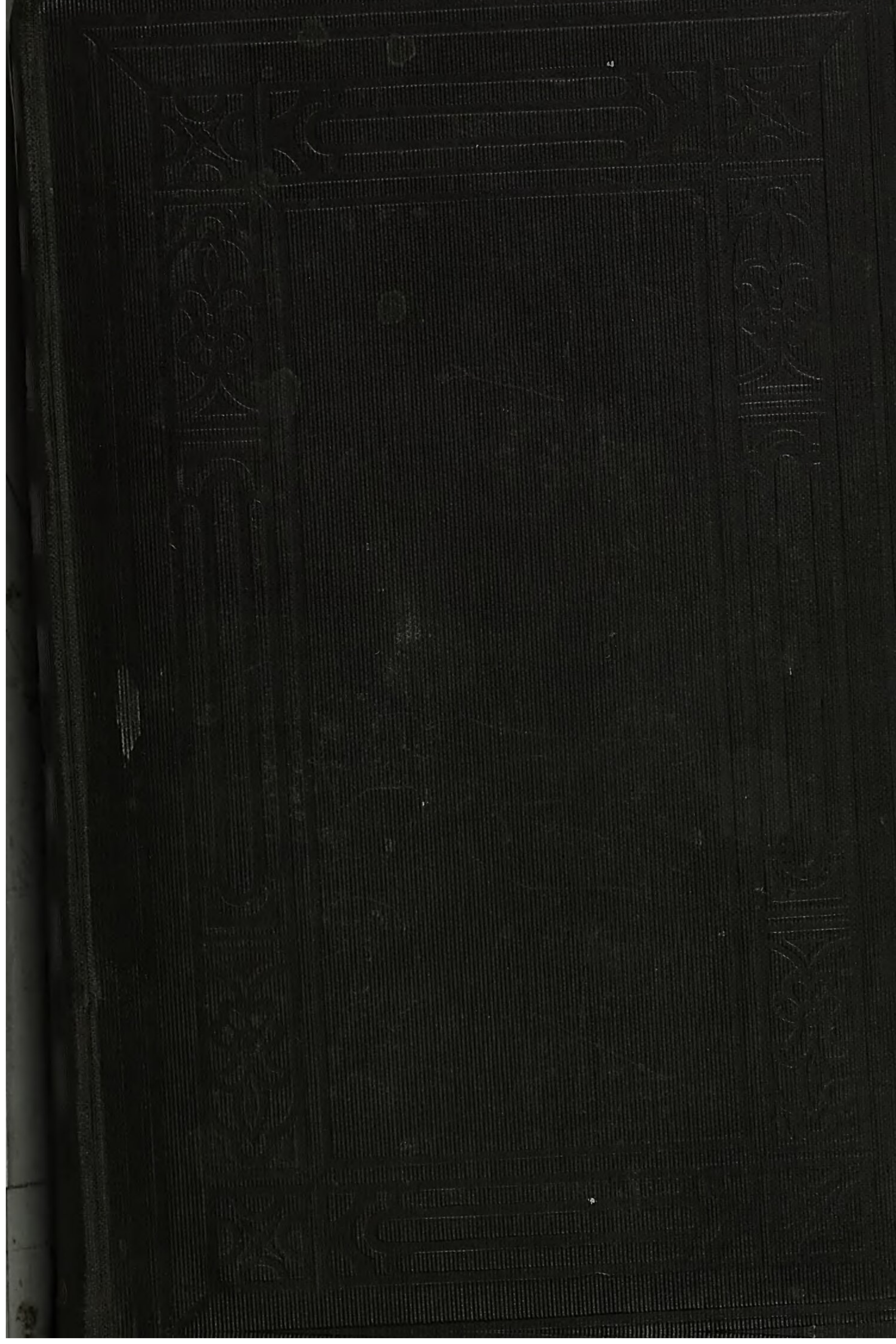




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To J. D. Gordon with
Rear Admiral Gordon's
best regards
2^d Nov^r 1856

HISTORY OF EUROPE

DURING

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

“ BELLUM maxime omnium memorabile, quæ unquam gesta sint, me scripturum ; quod, Hannibale duce, Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere. Nam neque validiores opibus ullæ inter se civitates gentesque contulerunt arma, neque his ipsis tantum unquam virium aut roboris fuit : et haud ignotas belli artes inter se, sed expertas primo Punico conserebant bello ; odiis etiam prope majoribus certarunt, quam viribus ; et adeo varia belli fortuna ancepsque Mars fuit, ut propius periculum fuerint, qui vicerunt.”—LIV. lib. 21.

HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

IN M.DCC.LXXXIX.

TO THE RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS

IN M.DCCC.XV.

BY ARCHIBALD ALISON, F.R.S.

ADVOCATE.

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HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER XC.

AMERICA—ITS PHYSICAL, MORAL, AND POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

IF the friends of freedom are often led to despair of its fortunes amidst the dense population, aged monarchies, and corrupted passions of the Old World, the aurora appears to rise in a purer sky and with brighter colours in the other hemisphere. In those immense regions which the genius of Columbus first laid open to European enterprise, where vice had not yet spread its snares, nor wealth its seductions, the free spirit and persevering industry of England have penetrated a yet untrodden continent, and laid in the wilderness the foundations of a vaster monument of civilisation than has ever yet been raised by the hands of man. Nor has the hand of nature been wanting to prepare a fitting receptacle for the august structure. Far beyond the Atlantic wave, amidst forests trodden only by the casual foot of the savage, her creative powers have been, unknown to us, in ceaseless activity: in the solitudes of the Far West, the garden of the human race has been for ages in preparation; and amidst the onward and expanding energies of the Old World, her prophetic hand has silently prepared, in the solitude of the New, unbounded resources for the future increase of man.

CHAP.
XC.

1814.

I.

Vast outlet
for mankind
in the Ame-
rican conti-
nent.

CHAP.
XC.

1813.

2.

Enchanting
aspect of the
West Indian
islands.

There is a part of the New World where nature appears clothed with the brilliant colours, and decked out in the gorgeous array of the tropics. In the gulf of Mexico, the extraordinary clearness of the water reveals to the astonished mariner the magnitude of its abysses, and discloses, even at the depth of thirty fathoms, the gigantic vegetation which, so far beneath the surface, is drawn forth by the attraction of a vertical sun. In the midst of these glassy waves, rarely disturbed by a ruder breath than the zephyrs of spring, an archipelago of perfumed islands is placed, which repose, like baskets of flowers, on the tranquil surface of the ocean. Every thing in those enchanted abodes appears to have been prepared for the wants and enjoyments of man. Nature has superseded the ordinary necessity for labour. The verdure of the groves, and the colours of the flowers and blossoms, derive additional vividness from the transparent purity of the air and the deep serenity of the heavens. Many of the trees are laden with fruits, which descend by their own weight to invite the indolent hand of the gatherer, and are perpetually renewed under the influence of an ever balmy air. Others, which yield no nourishment, fascinate the eye by the luxuriant variety of their form or the gorgeous brilliancy of their colours. Amidst a forest of perfumed citron-trees, spreading bananas, graceful palms, wild figs, round-leaved myrtles, fragrant acacias, and gigantic arbutuses, are to be seen every variety of creepers, with scarlet or purple blossoms, which entwine themselves round the stems, and hang in festoons from tree to tree.¹

¹ Tocq. i. 33.
Malte Brun,
xi. 727, 731.
Irving's Col-
i. 269.

3.

Its noble
forests and
natural
riches.

The trees are of a magnitude unknown in northern climes. The luxuriant vines, as they clamber up the loftiest cedars, form graceful inverted arches of vegetation; grapes are so plenty upon every shrub, that the surge of the ocean, as it lazily rolls in upon the shore with the quiet winds of summer, dashes its spray upon the clusters; and natural arbours form an impervious shade, which not a ray of the sun of July can penetrate. Cotton, planted by the hand of nature, grows in wild luxuriance; the potato and banana yield an overflowing supply of food; fruits of too tempting sweetness present themselves to the hand. Innumerable birds, with varied but splendid plumage, nestle in shady retreats, where they

are sheltered from the scorching heats of summer. Painted varieties of parrots and woodpeckers glitter amidst the verdure of the groves, and humming-birds rove from flower to flower, resembling "the animated particles of a rainbow." The scarlet flamingoes, seen through an opening of the forest in a distant savannah, appear the mimic array of fairy armies: the fragrance of the woods, the odour of the flowers, load every breeze. These charms broke on Columbus and his followers like Elysium: "One could live here," said he, "for ever." Is this the terrestrial paradise which nature seems at first sight to have designed—which it appeared to its heroic discoverer? It is the land of slavery and of pestilence; where indolence dissolves the manly character, and stripes can alone rouse the languid arm; where "death bestrides the evening gale," and the yielding breath inhales poison with its delight; where the iron race of Japhet itself seems melting away under the prodigality of the gifts of nature.¹

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¹ Malte
Brun, xi.
727, 731.
Tocq. i. 33.
Descourtiz,
Descript. des
Antilles, i.
265. Irving's
Columbus, i.
269, 271.
Bancroft, i.
92.

There is a land, in the same hemisphere, of another character. Washed by the waves of a dark and stormy ocean, granite rocks and sandy promontories constitute its sea-front, and a sterile inhospitable tract, from a hundred to a hundred and fifty miles broad, and eleven hundred long, presents itself to the labours of the colonist. It was there that the British exiles first set their feet, and sought amidst hardship and suffering that freedom of which England had become unworthy. Dark and melancholy woods cover the greater part of this expanse: the fir, the beech, the laurel, and the wild olive, are chiefly to be found on the sea-coast; but in such profusion do they grow, and so strongly do they characterise the country, that even now, after two hundred years of laborious industry have been employed in felling them, the spaces cleared by man appear but as spots amidst the gloomy immensity of the primitive forest. Farther inland, the shapeless swell of the Alleghany mountains rises to separate the sea-coast from the vast plains in the interior; the forests become loftier, and are composed of noble trees, sown by the hand of nature in every variety, from the stunted pine which strikes its roots into the ices of the arctic circle, to the majestic palm, the spreading plane-tree,² the graceful

^{4.}
Character of
North Ame-
rica.

² Malte
Brun, xi. 184,
195. Balbi,
879, 885.
Tocq. i. 34.

CHAP.
XC.

1814.

5.
Prodigious
activity of
nature in its
forests.

poplar, and verdant evergreen oak, which overshadow the marshes of the Floridas and Carolinas.

The ceaseless activity of nature is seen, without intermission, throughout these pathless solitudes: the great work of creation is every where followed by destruction, that of destruction by creation. Generations of trees are perpetually decaying, but fresh generations ever force their way up among the fallen stems; luxuriant creepers cover with their leaves alike the expiring and the reviving race; frequent rains, which almost every where stagnate amidst the thickets, attracted by this prodigious expanse of shaded and humid surface, at once hasten decay and vivify vegetation; prolific animal life teems in the leafy coverts which are found amidst these fallen patriarchs; and the incessant war of the stronger with the weaker, strews the earth alike with animal and vegetable remains. The profound silence of these forests is alone occasionally interrupted by the fall of a tree, the breaking of a branch, the bellowing of the buffalo, the roar of a cataract, or the whistling of the winds. It is the land of health, of industry, and of freedom; of ardent zeal, and dauntless energy, and great aspiration. In those forests a virgin mould is formed; in those wilds the foundations of human increase are laid: no gardener could mingle the elements of rural wealth like the contending life and death of the forest; and out of the decayed remnants of thousands of years are extracted the sustenance, the life, the power of civilised man.¹

¹ Tocq. i. 34,
35. Malte
Brun, xi. 184,
211. Balbi,
879, 920.

6.
Cooper's des-
cription of
the American
forests.

The vast forests of this primeval continent have been thus described by the hand of a master, whose pictorial eye and graphic powers almost bring the realities he has witnessed before our eyes:—"The American forest exhibits in the highest degree the grandeur of repose. As nature never does violence to her own laws, the soil throws out the plant it is best qualified to support, and the eye is not often disappointed by a sickly vegetation. There is a generous emulation in the trees, which is not to be found among others of different families, when left to pursue their quiet existence in the solitude of the fields. Each struggles towards the light; and an equality in bulk and similarity in form are thus produced, which scarce belong to their distinctive characters. The effect may

easily be imagined. The vaulted arches beneath are filled with thousands of high unbroken columns, which sustain one vast and trembling canopy of leaves. A pleasing gloom and an imposing silence have their interminable reign below, an outer and a different atmosphere seeming to rest on the cloud of foliage. While the light plays on the varying surface of the tree-tops, a sombre hue colours the earth. Dead and moss-grown logs, mounds covered with decomposed vegetable surfaces, the graves of long-past generations of trees, cavities left by the fall of a long uprooted trunk, dark fungi that flourish about the decayed roots of those about to loose their hold, with a few slender and delicate plants of minor growth, and which flourish in the shade, form the principal features of the scene beneath. In the midst of this gloomy solitude, the foot of man is rarely heard. An occasional glimpse of the bounding deer or trotting moose, is almost the only interruption on the earth itself; while the heavy bear, or the leaping panther is occasionally met, seated on the branches of some venerable tree. There are moments, too, when troops of hungry wolves are encountered on the trail of the deer: but these are rather an exception to the stillness of the place, than accessories that should properly be introduced into the picture. Even the birds are in general mute: or when they do break the silence, it is in discordant notes that suit their wild abode. The wilderness in the midst of many successive changes is always sustained at the point nearest to perfection; since the alterations are so few and gradual as never to innovate on its general character.”¹

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XC.
1813.

The United States of North America extend from 70° to 127° west longitude, and from 25° to 52° north latitude. They embrace in the territories of the separate States 1,535,000 square geographical miles, or about ten times the area of France, which contains 156,000; and seventeen times that of the British Islands, which amount to 91,000; besides about 500,000 more in the unappropriated western wilds not yet allotted to any separate State—in all, 2,076,400 square miles, or 1,328,896,000 acres, upwards of twenty times the area of the British Islands.* This

¹ Cooper, in
Borderers,
chap. 8.

7.
Geographical
divisions of
the United
States.

* The total territory of the United States, including the Floridas, is, according to Malte Brun, 313,000 square marine leagues, or about 3,000,000 square

CHAP.
XC.

1814.

immense territory is portioned out by nature into three great divisions, of which not a third has yet heard the hatchet of civilised man, by the two great chains of mountains, which, running from north to south, nearly parallel to the adjacent oceans, separate the continent of North America, as it were, into a centre and two wings. These chains are the Alleghany and the Rocky Mountains. The former, gradually rising from the shores of the St Lawrence and the frontiers of Canada, and stretching southward to the gulf of Florida, a distance of above fourteen hundred miles, divides the sea-coast, which first began to be cultivated by the European settlers, from the vast alluvial plains of Central America. The space between it and the sea is comparatively sterile, and does not embrace above 200,000 square miles. It is beyond the Alleghanies, a comparatively low and shapeless range, seldom rising to five thousand feet in height, that the garden of the world is to be found. In the immense basins of the Missouri, the Ohio, and the Mississippi, to which the waters descend from the whole length of the Alleghanies on the east, and the vast piles of the Rocky Mountains on the west, are contained above 1,000,000 square miles, with hardly a hill or a rock to interrupt the expanse. Of this prodigious space, above six times the whole area of France, and fully eleven times that of Great Britain, two-thirds, being that which lies nearest to the Alleghany range, is composed of the richest soil, in great part alluvial, in others covered with the virgin spoils of decayed forest vegetation during several thousand years. The remaining third stretches by a gentle, and almost imperceptible slope, to the foot of the Rocky Mountains.¹

¹ Balbi, 935, 937. Malte Brun, xi. 185, 200.

8.
The Prairies
and Rocky
Mountains.

Nature exhibits a character so different on the opposite banks of the Mississippi, that it is scarcely possible to believe they belong to the same part of the world. On the western bank vast savannahs stretch as far as the eye can reach; their undulations of verdure, like the waves of the ocean, blend in the distance with the blue of heaven. Gradually as it approaches the stupendous barrier of the Rocky Mountains, the character of nature changes. Charming

geographical miles; but that includes the portion covered by water, which is a fifteenth of the whole, and the desert tracts of the Rocky Mountains.—MALTE BRUN, xi. 185. The British islands, including Ireland, contain 91,000 square geographical miles, or nearly 122,000 English square miles.

savannahs, over which innumerable herds of buffaloes range at pleasure, first break the dark uniformity of the forest; wider and more open prairies next succeed, over which the trees are loosely sprinkled, and sometimes attain a prodigious size: naked and dreary plains are then to be traversed, in which a thousand rills meander, with imperceptible flow, towards the great river in the east, almost concealed amidst gigantic reeds and lofty grass which fringe their banks; until at length the vast and snowy ridge of the Rocky Mountains, rising in unapproachable grandeur to the height of fourteen and fifteen thousand, sometimes twenty thousand feet, presents apparently an impassable barrier to the adventurous steps of man. Yet even these, the Andes of Northern America, which traverse its whole extent from Icy Cape to the Isthmus of Darien, do not bound the natural capabilities of its territory. On their western slopes another more broken plain, furrowed by innumerable ravines, is to be seen, descending rapidly towards the Pacific, which embraces three hundred thousand square miles. Its numerous and rapid streams give it an inexhaustible command of water power; its rivers, stored with fish and in great part navigable, present vast resources for the use of man: its boundless forests and rich veins of mineral wealth point it out as the future abode of manufacturing greatness.¹

On the opposite, or eastern bank, a very different scene in general presents itself. Hanging over the watery current, grouped on the rocks and eminences on its banks, clustering in every valley, trees of all sorts, colours, and perfumes, grow up together in wild profusion, and reach a height which the aching eye can hardly measure. Wild vines, bignonias, and other creepers, generally adorned by the most splendid blossoms, creep up to their very summits; and, stretching from one to another, form, as in the Campagna of Naples, arches of vegetation at the height of a hundred and fifty feet from the ground. Sometimes spreading their tendrils out from the trees, these adventurous creepers stretch across rivers, over which they throw aërial bridges of flowers. From the midst of this verdant wilderness, the magnolia rears his motionless cone,² surmounted by large white roses.

CHAP.
XC.
1814.

¹ Balbi, 935, 939, 1012.
Tocq. ii. 387.
Malte Brun, xi. 185, 215.
American Atlas, No. 6.
Chateaub. Abala et Rene, 4, 5.

9.
Character of the eastern bank of the Mississippi.

² Chateaub. Abala, 4.

CHAP.
XC.

1814.

10.
Prodigious
number of
animals
which are
there assem-
bled.

He has no rival but the palm tree, which, at his side, waves to every breeze his graceful fan of verdure.

If silence, interrupted only by casual sounds, reigns in the vast Savannahs on the eastern bank, a very chorus arises from the woods on the western bank. A multitude of living animals, of all sorts, there attest the prodigality with which life has been spread in the wilderness by the hand of the Creator. Bears of huge size, often reeling from the intoxication of the wild grapes, of which they are passionately fond, cling to the branches; black squirrels sport in the recesses of the foliage; mocking birds, and Virginian pigeons, alight on turf made red by strawberries; parrots, resplendent with green and red, creep around the tops of the cypresses; and in the midst of the jessamine of the Floridas, the deadly sound of the rattlesnake is heard. The noise which these innumerable tribes of animals make is so prodigious, as to exceed any thing ever heard in the abodes of civilised man. The roaring of beasts of prey, the bellowing of buffalos, the cooing of birds, the hissing of serpents, the din of parrots, is all heard at once, without any one apparently being disquieted by the others. And, when wafted by the breeze from a little distance, it produces a dull incessant roar, like the sound of a distant cataract, which harmonises singularly with the deep solitude of these untrodden forests.¹

¹ Chateaub.
Abala, 5, 6.
Œuv. x. 5.

11.
Description
of Canada.

These are the great geographical divisions of the territory of the United States; but they do not comprehend the whole of the immense continent of North America. MEXICO on the south, and the British provinces on the north, contain within themselves the elements of mighty empires, and are destined to open their capacious arms for ages to come, to receive the overflowing population of the Old World. The former of these has been already described in treating of Spanish America, to which division of the New World it properly belongs.* CANADA, and the other British possessions in North America, though apparently blessed with fewer physical advantages, contain a noble race, and are evidently reserved for a lofty destination. Every thing there is in proper keeping for the development of the combined physical and mental energies of man. There are to be found, at

* *Ante*, Chap. lxxvii. § 26.

once, the hardihood of character which conquers difficulty, the severity of climate which stimulates exertion, the natural advantages which reward enterprise. Nature has marked out this country for exalted destinies; for if she has not given it the virgin mould of the basin of the Missouri, or the giant vegetation and prolific sun of the tropics, she has bestowed upon it a vast chain of inland lakes, which fit it one day to become the great channel of commerce between Europe and the interior of America and eastern parts of Asia.¹

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XC.
1814.

The river St Lawrence, fed by the immense inland seas which separate Canada from the United States, is the great commercial artery of North America. Descending from the distant sources of the Kaministiquia and St Louis, it traverses the solitary Lake Winnipeg and Lake of the Woods, opens into the boundless expanse of Lake Superior, and after being swelled by the tributary volumes of the Michigan and Huron waves, again contracts into the river and lake of St Clair; a second time expands into the broad surface of Lake Erie, from whence it is precipitated by the sublime cataract of Niagara into "wide Ontario's boundless lake," and again contracting, finds its way to the sea by the magnificent estuary of the St Lawrence, through the wooded intricacies of the Thousand Islands. Nor are the means of water navigation wanting on the other side of this marvellous series of inland seas. The Rocky Mountains, sunk there to five or six thousand feet in height, contain valleys capable of being opened to artificial navigation by human enterprise; no considerable elevation requires to be passed in making the passage from the distant sources of the St Lawrence to the mountain feeders of the Columbia; the rapid declivity of the range on the western side soon renders the latter river navigable, and a deep channel and swelling stream soon conduct the navigator to the shores of the Pacific. As clearly as the Mediterranean Sea was let in by the Straits of Gibraltar to form the main channel of communication and the great artery of life to the Old World, so surely were the vast lakes of Canada spread in the wilderness of the New, to penetrate the mighty continent, and carry into its remotest recesses the light and the blessings of Christian civilisation.²

¹ Malte
Brun, xi.
139, 141.

12.
Vast inland
navigation
which its
lakes afford.

² Malte
Brun, xi.
129, 143.
Balbi, 926.

CHAP.
XC.

1814.

13.
Superficial
extent, and
probable
resources of
Canada.

The superficial extent of the British possessions in North America is prodigious, and greatly exceeds that which is subject to the sway of the United States; it amounts to above four millions of square geographical miles, or nearly a ninth part of the whole terrestrial surface of the globe.* Probably seven-eighths of this immense surface are doomed to eternal sterility from the excessive severity of the climate, which yields only a scanty herbage to the reindeer, the elk, and the musk ox; but the two Canadas alone contain three hundred thousand square miles, of which ninety-five thousand are in the upper and richer province; and, altogether, there are probably not less than six hundred thousand square miles in the British dominions in that part of the world capable of profitable cultivation, being nearly seven times the superficies of the whole British islands, if the wastes of Scotland, not less sterile than the Polar snows, are deducted. Of this arable surface, about one hundred and thirty thousand square miles, or somewhat more than a fourth, has been surveyed, or is under cultivation. The climate is various, being much milder in the upper or more southerly province of Canada, than in the lower; but in both it is extremely cold in winter, and surprisingly warm in summer. In the lower province, the thermometer has been known to stand in July and August at 93° of Fahrenheit in the shade, and it is frequently from 80° to 90°; while in winter it is sometimes as low as—40°, so as to freeze mercury. But, notwithstanding this extraordinary variation of temperature, the climate is not only eminently favourable to the health of the European race, but brings to maturity, in many places, the choicest gifts of nature.¹

¹ Malte Brun, xi. 143, 145, and 179; Balbi, 1096, 1107. Buckingham's Canada, App. 517.

14.
Vegetable
productions
of the
Canadas.

Vast pine forests, scantily intersected, in the vicinity only of the great rivers, by execrable roads, cover indeed nine-tenths of the northern provinces, as of the corresponding districts of Russia and Sweden in the Old World. But they constitute no inconsiderable portion of the national wealth, for in them is found an inexhaustible store of timber, the exportation of which con-

* The exact amount is 4,109,630 square geographical miles. The terrestrial globe embraces about 37,000,000.—MALTE BRUN, xi. 179. Besides this land surface, British North America contains 1,340,000 square miles of water.—Ibid.

stitutes the great staple of the country, and employs four-fifths of the eight hundred thousand tons of shipping which now carry on the trade between Great Britain and her magnificent transatlantic possessions. Even in Lower Canada, however, when you approach the basin of the St Lawrence, the earth becomes fruitful, and yields ample supplies for the use of man. Grain, herbage, potatoes, and vegetables, grow in abundance: the almost miraculous rapidity of spring compensates the long and dreary months of winter; and the fervent heat of summer brings all the fruits of northern Europe to maturity. In the upper province, the winter is shorter and milder, and the ardent rays of the summer sun so temper the northern blasts, that the vine, the peach, the nectarine, and the apricot, as well as cherries and melons, ripen in the open air. In both, the same change took place which has been observed in Europe since the dark masses of the Hercynian Forest were felled, and its morasses drained by the laborious arms of the Germans; and the climate, every season becoming more mild, has undergone a change of 8° or 10° on the average of the year since the efforts of European industry were first applied to the cultivation of their territory.¹

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¹ Malte
Brun, xi.
143, 145.
Annales des
Voyages,
xviii. 114,
126.

Although the rivers in the United States of America do not offer the same marvellous advantages for foreign commerce which the St Lawrence and its chain of inland seas afford to the activity of British enterprise, they are inferior to none in the world in the immensity of their course and the volume of their waters, and present unbounded facilities both for the export of the produce of the soil, and the marvellous powers of steam navigation. The greatest of these is the Missouri—the main branch of the vast system of rivers which drain the rich alluvial plain between the Alleghany and Rocky Mountains, and which, after a course of two thousand five hundred miles in length, empties itself into the gulf of Mexico, below New Orleans. Already a noble river when it issues in the solitude of the Far West from the Rocky Mountains, its passage into the plain is worthy of the majestic character of the Father of waters. Between stupendous walls of rock, twelve hundred feet high, and three leagues in length, whose overhanging cliffs

15.
Immense
rivers of
Central
America.

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darken the awful passage, it issues forth in a deep and foaming current three hundred yards broad, and, soon swelled by other tributary streams, winds its long and solitary way through the prairies to the falls, sixty miles distant, which rival Niagara itself in sublimity and grandeur.* The Mississippi, the Ohio, the Tennessee, the Illinois, the Arkansas, the Kanzas, the White River, the Red River, the St Peter, the Ouisconsin, the least of them rivalling the Rhine or the Danube in magnitude, and some of which have given their names to the mighty states which already are settled on their shores, are but the tributaries of this prodigious artery. But they are tributaries on a gigantic scale. Ere the limpid waters of the Ohio join the turbid waves of the Mississippi, it has already been swollen by sixty tributary streams, any one of which would pass for a great river in Europe. When these two vast arteries join, they are each two miles broad, and they flow for some miles in placid majesty, side by side, without intermingling their waters. These various rivers, all of which are navigable, each with its own affiliated set of tributary streams, several thousand in number, form a vast chain of inland navigation, all connected together, and issuing into the sea by one channel, which, like the arteries and veins of the human body, is destined to maintain an immense interior circulation, and convey life and health to the furthest extremities of the million of square miles which constitute the magnificent garden of Central America.¹

¹ Malte
Brun, xi.
192, 194, 296,
297. Lewis
and Clarke,
ii. and iii.
Chateaub.
Voyage, 27.

16.
The Delta of
the Missis-
sippi.

If the majestic portals by which the Missouri issues from its icy cradle in the Rocky Mountains is one of the sublimest, the alluvial swamps through which it finds its way to the ocean in the gulf of Mexico is among the most interesting objects in nature. There, one of the great formations of the earth is actually going forward: we are carried back to what occurred in our own continent before the creation of man. Like all other great rivers, the Missouri, or the Mississippi as it is there called, does not empty itself into the sea in one continuous channel, but by a great variety of arms or mouths, which

* They are in all, 384 feet in height; the principal fall alone is 220 feet high, and about 800 broad. They are surmounted by lofty cliffs, and their roar is heard thirteen miles off. In a solitary tree on an island, in the middle of one of the falls, an eagle has built its nest.—LEWIS and CLARKE, ii. 347, 351.

intersect, in sluggish streams, the vast alluvial delta, formed by the perpetual deposit from the immense volume of waters which it rolls into the ocean. Between these mouths of the river an immense surface, half land half water, from fifty to a hundred miles in width, and three hundred in length, fringes the whole coast: and there the enormous mass of vegetable matter constantly brought down by the Mississippi is periodically deposited. A few feet are sufficient to bring it above the level of the water, except in great floods; and as soon as that is done vegetation springs up with the utmost rapidity in that prolific slime.¹

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¹ Hall's
America, iii.
336. Malte
Brun, xi.
272, 274.

No spectacle can be conceived so dreary, and yet so interesting, as the prospect of these boundless alluvial swamps in the course of formation. As far as the eye can reach over hundreds of square leagues, nothing is to be seen but marshes bristling with roots, trunks, and branches of trees. In winter and spring, when the floods come down, they bring with them an incalculable quantity of these broken fragments, technically called logs, which not only cover the whole of this immense semi-marine territory, but, floating over it, strew the sea for several miles off to such an extent, that ships have often no small difficulty in making their way through them. Thus the whole ground is formed of a vast network of masses of wood, closely packed and rammed together to the depth of several fathoms, which are gradually cemented by fresh deposits, till the whole acquires by degrees a firm consistency. Aquatic birds, innumerable cranes and storks, water serpents and huge alligators, people this dreary solitude. In a short time a sort of rank cane or reed springs up, which, by retarding the flow of the river, collects the mud of the next season, and so lends its share in the formation of the delta. Fresh logs, fresh mud, and new crops of cane, go on for a series of years; in the course of which, the alligators in enormous multitudes fix in their new domain, and extensive animal remains come to mingle with the vegetable deposits. Even here, in the infancy as it were of a world, the efforts of nature to clothe the earth with a robe of beauty are conspicuous.² Plants spring up among the debris; flowers and tendrils are seen amidst the desolation;

17.
Extraordi-
nary spec-
tacle which it
exhibits.

² Duvallon's
Colonie de
Mississippi,
13. Captain
Hall's
America, iii.
336, 341.
Malte Brun,
xi. 196, 272,
274. Cha-
teaub. Abala,
3, 4.

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and often beautiful creepers, floated with the stones to which they are attached down the Mississippi, take root and flourish in the watery waste. Gradually, as the soil accumulates and hardens, a dwarfish shrub begins to appear above the surface ; larger and larger trees succeed with the decay of their more stunted predecessors ; and at length, on the scene of former desolation, the magnificent riches of the Virginian forest are reared.

18.
Primitive
forest of the
southern pro-
vinces.

Would we behold what this barren marsh, at first the abode only of serpents and alligators, is destined one day to become under the prolific hand of nature ? Enter that perfumed and verdant forest, where, on the shores of the rivers of Florida and Virginia, the marvellous riches of nature are poured forth with a prodigality, of which, in more northern climates, scarcely a conception can be formed. So rapidly does vegetation there grow out of the water, that in navigating the rivers, thickets and woods seem to be floating on its surface. The magnificent scarlet blossoms of the *Lobelia cardinalis*, and the gigantic perfumed white petals of the *Pancratium* of Carolina, attract the eye, even in the midst of the endless luxuriance of marsh vegetation. High over head the white cedar towers, and furnishes in its dense foliage a secure asylum for the water-eagle and the stork ; while wild vines cluster up every stem, and hang in festoons from tree to tree. Every branch in the lower part of the forest teems with luxuriant creepers, often bearing the most splendid flowers. In the natural labyrinths formed in these watery forests, spots of ravishing beauty are often to be found, which might tempt the pilgrim to fix his abode, did not the pestilential air of autumn forbid for a long period the residence of civilised man. But these dangers diminish as the soil becomes higher and more consistent ; human perseverance embanks the rivers and excludes the flood : and in no part of the world, when this is done, does such exuberant fertility reward the labour of the husbandman.¹

¹ Malte
Brun, xi.
200, 203.
Payne's
Geog. iv. 418,
424. Dray-
ton's South
Carolina, 20,
28.

The immense regions of North America were not wholly uninhabited when Columbus first approached their shores. Sprung originally from the neighbouring tribes of Asiatics who dwelt in the most eastern portion of the Old World, and whom accident or adventure had

wafted across Behring's Straits, its inhabitants have gradually spread over the whole extent of the American continent in both hemispheres, from Icy Cape to Cape Horn. Tradition, universal and unvarying, assigns the first origin of the American race to a migration of their fathers from beyond the western ocean: a connected chain of words, which float unchanged through the otherwise forgotten floods of time, may be traced from the tribes of the Caucasian range to the Cordilleras of Mexico and Peru. But climate and circumstances, those great moulders of human character, have exercised their wonted influence upon the descendants of Shem, and presented in the North American savage a different specimen of the race of man from what the world has elsewhere exhibited. He is neither the child of Japhet, daring, industrious, indefatigable, exploring the world by his enterprise, and subduing it by his exertions; nor the offspring of Ishmael, sober, ardent, enduring, traversing the desert on his steeds, and issuing forth at appointed intervals from his solitudes, to punish and regenerate mankind. He is the hunter of the forest; skilled to perfection in the craft necessary for that primitive occupation, but incapable of advancing beyond it. Civilisation in vain endeavours to throw its silken fetters over his limbs; he avoids the smiling plantation, and flees in horror before the advancing hatchet of the woodsman. He does well to shun the approach of the European race; he can neither endure its fatigues, nor withstand its temptations; and, faster than before the sword and the bayonet, his race is melting away under the fire-water, the first gift and last curse of civilisation.

Like the Germans in the days of Tacitus, the life of the North American is divided between total inactivity and strenuous exertion. After sleeping away months in his wigwam, he will plunge into the forest, and walk from eighty to ninety miles a-day, on a stretch, for weeks. He will lie for days together in ambush waiting for an opportunity to spring upon his foe; and in following, sometimes for hundreds of miles, the trail of his enemies through the forest, he exhibits a degree of sagacity which almost appears miraculous. Enduring of privation, patient in suffering, heroic in death, he is wavering in

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19.
Character of
the American
Indians.20.
Their striking
peculiarities of
disposition.

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¹ Chateaubriand,
Voyages en
Amerique,
ii. 221, 230.

21.
Extraordi-
nary growth
of the Anglo-
Saxon race in
America.

temptation, and without honour in the field. His principle is ever to shun danger if possible, and never attack except at an advantage; and the man who can bear, without flinching, the most exquisite tortures, will often perish beside a barrel of spirits, which he wants the resolution to resist. The language of these tribes is poetry; their ideas are elevated; the imagery of nature, amidst which they live, has imprinted a majestic character on their thoughts. But they cannot be converted to the habits of laborious life; they adopt of civilisation only its vices; their remains are fast disappearing under the combined influence of European encroachment and savage indulgence. Already they are as rarely to be seen in New York as in London; and before many ages have elapsed, their race, like that of the mammoth, will be extinct; and their memory, enshrined by the genius of Cooper, will live only in the enduring pages of American romance.¹

Two hundred years have elapsed since the British exiles, flying the persecutions of Charles I., first approached the American shores; and their increase since that time has been unparalleled for so considerable a period, in any other age or part of the world. Carrying with them into the wilderness the powers of art and the industry of civilisation; with English perseverance in their character, English order in their habits, and English fearlessness in their hearts; with the axe in their hand, the Bible in their pocket, and the rifle by their side; they have multiplied during that long period in exactly the same ratio, and the different states of the Union now contain above seventeen millions of souls, of whom fourteen millions are of the Anglo-Saxon race.* The duplication of the inhabitants during this whole time has regularly occurred every twenty-three

* The following is the increase of the American population since the first regular census was taken in 1790:—

1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.
3,929,326	5,306,035	7,239,903	9,638,226	12,853,838	17,068,666

—MALTE BRUN, xi. 346; *American Atlas*, No. 6; and *Census for 1840*; *Stat. Almanack*, 265.

The increase in America in the last ten years has been 4,202,646 inhabitants—being a growth of 34½ per cent for the last ten years—less than the increase

years and a half. It was the same under the British colonial as under the Republican independent government; evidently demonstrating that it has been owing to general and permanent causes altogether independent of the forms of constitution. The Negro inhabitants at this time are 2,874,378, of whom 2,487,113 are in a state of slavery; but though the black inhabitants increased from 1790 to 1830, faster than the white, yet the balance since that time has been rather turned the other way, and, except in the most southern states, the European race is now increasing faster than the African.^{1*}

¹ Census, 1841; and Tocq. ii. 329, 370.

If this rate of increase should continue for the next hundred, as it has done without the slightest variation for the last two hundred years, America will, by the year 1940, contain two hundred and seventy millions of inhabitants, or thirty more than all Europe west of the Ural mountains at this time, which is now peopled by two hundred and forty millions. Prodigious as this increase

22.
Prospects of the growth of the American population.

during the same period in some parts of Great Britain. In the following counties, from 1831 to 1841, the augmentation was—

Monmouth,	-	-	-	-	36.9	per cent.
Lanark,	-	-	-	-	34.8	..
Dumbarton,	-	-	-	-	33.3	..
Durham,	-	-	-	-	27.7	..
Stafford,	-	-	-	-	24.2	..
Lancashire,	-	-	-	-	24.7	..
Forfar,	-	-	-	-	22.0	..
Surrey,	-	-	-	-	19.0	..
York, (West Riding,)	-	-	-	-	18.2	..
Chester,	-	-	-	-	18.5	..

—*Population Returns*, 1841, *Great Britain*, pp. 2, 3.

But the increase over the whole empire, during this period, has been only 14 per cent, not half of what has occurred in America during the same time. Yet when it is recollected that at least from 50,000 to 60,000 persons annually, on an average, during the same time have emigrated from the British islands and settled in the United States, it is probable that the increase in *births* in the two countries was not materially different; an extraordinary and portentous circumstance, when it is recollected that in the British islands population is about three hundred to the square mile, whereas in America it is only eleven: the area of the States being about 1,500,000 square miles.

* The following is the relative growth of population, in the Blacks and Whites, from 1780 to 1840, in the Slave States:—

From 1790 to 1830, the Whites increased 80 per cent.
— — — Blacks — 112 —

But since 1830 the proportion stands thus:—

From 1830 to 1840, the Whites increased 30 per cent.
— — — Blacks — 25 —

What is very remarkable, it appears from all the returns that the White race is now gaining rapidly on the Black in all the Northern states, where slavery is abolished, and the Black race is increasing most rapidly in the Southern states; a state of things which leads to the hope that, in process of time, the Black slave population will be entirely confined to the States bordering on the Gulf of Mexico. —See CAREY'S *Letters on Colonisation of Society*, 1833; TOCQUEVILLE, ii. 239; and *Population Returns*, 1840.

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of human beings is, it is by no means beyond the bounds of probability that it will be realised ; for if the usual causes which retard the advance of mankind will, long ere that time arrives, have come into powerful operation over a great part of the Union, as they already have done in the states on the sea-coast which were first colonised, yet the immense tracts of unappropriated rich land in the basin of the Mississippi will still communicate an unwonted impulse to the principle of population, and perpetuate, on the frontier of the desert, the prolific augmentation of the human race. Gradually, however, as the sea-coast becomes an old-established and densely peopled country, the temptation to European emigration will diminish, while its difficulties must increase ; the expense of transporting a family from the shores of the ocean to the Far West, will exceed that of conveying it across the Atlantic ; the stream of European settlement will take some other direction, and the hundred thousand emigrants who now annually land on the American shores, from the states of the Old World, will disappear. But whatever may be the rapidity of their increase, nothing is more certain than that the prolific powers of nature will keep far ahead of them ; and that, great as is the surplus produce of the American agriculturist at this time, it will, if their society is undecayed, be far greater in proportion to their population a thousand years hence.¹

¹ Alison's
Population,
i. 60, 62.

23.
Prodigious
increase in
the valley of
the Missis-
sippi.

Prodigious as has been this increase of population during so long a period, in the whole American states, it is incomparably less than the growth of mankind in particular parts of this favoured quarter of the globe. In the basin of the Mississippi, by far the richest part, as already mentioned, of the states of the Union, the population has multiplied in the last fifty years no less than fifty-fold, having increased in that time from one hundred and twelve thousand to five million three hundred and eighty-five thousand ! This is probably the most extraordinary instance of well-authenticated human increase on record in the world. It is far beyond the powers of multiplication which mankind possess from their own unaided resources ; and is mainly to be ascribed to the vast influx of emigrants into those fertile

regions, both from the states of the Union on the shores of the Atlantic, and the more distant British islands.* The number of persons who annually settle in the United States of America from Great Britain and Ireland, is, on an average, nearly fifty thousand.† At New York, it is no unusual thing to see five thousand landed in a single week; and great numbers of those who proceed first to Quebec or Montreal, attracted by the fertility of the backwoods of America, make their way across the border.¹

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¹ Census of
America,
1840.

Almost the whole of this vast multitude no sooner arrive on the shores of America, than they crowd away to the back settlements, and seek the prodigious flood of civilisation which is overspreading the banks of the Ohio. To these are to be added a still greater stream of emigration from America itself; for, clearly marked as is the tendency of emigration from Europe, and especially from the British islands, to the American shores, it operates not less forcibly in directing mankind from the margin of the Atlantic, across the Alleghany Mountains, into the vast and untrodden solitudes of the west. Such has been

24.
Which is
mainly owing
to immigra-
tion from
Europe and
the American
coast.

* The following table exhibits the growth of population in the provinces in the basin of the Mississippi since 1790. It almost exceeds belief:—

	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.
Ohio,	3,000	45,365	230,760	581,434	935,884	1,519,467
Kentucky,	73,677	220,959	406,511	564,317	687,917	779,898
Indiana,	—	4,875	24,520	147,178	343,031	685,866
Arkansas,	—	—	—	14,273	30,388	212,267
Illinois,	—	215	12,282	55,211	157,455	476,183
Tennessee,	35,691	105,602	261,727	422,813	684,904	829,210
Missouri,	—	—	20,845	66,586	140,455	383,702
Mississippi,	—	8,850	31,502	75,448	136,621	97,574
Louisiana,	—	—	76,556	153,407	215,529	352,411
Total,	112,368	385,866	1,064,703	2,080,667	3,372,184	5,335,578

—*American Census in* MALTE BRUN, xi. 346; *American Atlas*, No. 6; and *Stat. Almanack*, 1841, 264.

† Table showing the number of emigrants who have landed in the United States, in the years undermentioned, from the United Kingdom.

1830,	-	-	24,887	1837,	-	-	36,770
1831,	-	-	23,489	1838,	-	-	14,332
1832,	-	-	32,872	1839,	-	-	33,536
1833,	-	-	29,109	1840,	-	-	40,642
1834,	-	-	33,074	1841,	-	-	45,017
1835,	-	-	26,720	1842,	-	-	63,852
1836,	-	-	37,774				

—PORTER'S *Parl. Tables*, xii. 253.

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¹ Tocq. ii.
376, 377.
Census of
America,
1840.

25.
Immense
stream of
immigration
across the
Alleghany
Mountains.

the growth of the human species in that fertile territory, that the states in its great alluvial surface, though they only began to be seriously cultivated in 1790, contain now above five millions of inhabitants ; and, from the vast rapidity of their increase, compared with that of the other states in the Union, it is no longer matter of doubt that in less than twenty years their representatives will have a preponderating voice in the national legislature.¹

There is something solemn and almost awful in the incessant advance of the great stream of civilisation, which in America is continually rolling down from the summits of the Alleghany mountains, and overspreading the boundless forests of the Far West. Vast as were the savage multitudes whom ambition or the lust of plunder attracted to the standards of Timour or Genghis Khan, to oppress and overwhelm the opulent regions of the earth ; immense as were the swarms which, for centuries, issued from the cheerless plains of Scythia to insult or devastate the decaying provinces of the Roman empire ;—they were as nothing compared to the ceaseless flood of human beings which is now in its turn setting forth from the abodes of civilised man, into the desert parts of the world. Nearly two hundred thousand persons, almost all in the prime of life, now yearly cross the Alleghany mountains, and settle on the banks of the Ohio or the Arkansas and their tributary streams. They do not pass through, as the Tartar hordes, like a desolating fire or a raging torrent ; they settle where they take up their abode, never to return. Their war is with the forest and the marsh, not with the corrupted cities of long-established man. Spreading themselves out over an extent of nearly twelve hundred miles in length, these advanced posts of civilisation commence the incessant war with the hatchet and the plough ; and at the sound of their strokes, resounding through the solitude of the forest, the wild animals and the Indians retire to more undisturbed retreats. Along a frontier tract, above twelve hundred miles in length, the average advance of cultivation is about seventeen miles a-year. The ground is imperfectly cleared, indeed, by these pioneers of humanity ; but still the forest has disappeared under their strokes : the green field, the

wooden cottage, the signs of infant improvement, have arisen : and behind them, another wave of more wealthy and skilled settlers succeeds, who complete the work of agricultural improvement. The wild animals of the forest retire before this incessant advance of civilisation ; by a mysterious instinct, or the information of other creatures of their race, they become aware of the approach of the great enemy of their tribe ; and so far does the alarm penetrate before the approach of real danger, that they are frequently found to commence their retreat two hundred miles in advance of the actual sound of the European hatchet.¹

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¹ Tocq. ii.
274. Report
of Cass and
Clarke to
Congress,
Feb. 4, 1829.

The first settlers, or squatters, who precede the arrival of regular colonists, constitute a most important class, peculiar to America, of whom no type had previously existed in the world. Consumed by an incessant desire to explore new territories, and skim the surface of the as yet virgin soil, they penetrate with dauntless courage into the wilderness ; and, often several hundred miles in advance of the regular clearers of the forest, first make the woods resound with the crack of the rifle and the strokes of the hatchet. The profound solitude with which they are surrounded, the dangers from wild beasts and savage tribes to which they are exposed, the independent roaming life which they lead, possess charms which more than compensate to them for the loss of all the comforts and intercourse of civilised society. The desert attracts them as powerfully as it does the red man or the elk. Under pretence of choosing a more healthy abode, richer soil, or more abundant game, they push incessantly forward ; and, advancing into the very depths of the forest or the prairie, gradually drive the native inhabitants of the wilderness before them. Adventurers of this description have often been known to penetrate a thousand miles alone into the woods : in a small canoe, capable of being borne on the shoulders, they descend immense rivers, with no other equipments but a rifle, a bag of powder and shot, a tomahawk, a couple of beaver snares, and a large knife. If the first stragglers of the crowd approach in their rear,² they move steadily on, ever far in advance of civilised life ; and leave to succeed-

26.
First settlers,
or squatters.
Their habits
and mode of
life.

² Michaux,
Voyage à
l'Ouest des
Monts Alle-
ghany, 89,
91. Malte
Brun, xi.
253, 254.

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27.
Striking
appearances
of the pro-
gress of culti-
vation in the
forests.

ing and more permanent settlers the labour of felling the trees, of erecting the log-houses, of sowing the maize, and reaping the first fruits of the virgin riches of nature.

Few objects are more striking than the first appearances of regular cultivation in the midst of the aged magnificence of nature. They have been thus described by the master hand of an eye-witness: "Beside," says Chateaubriand, "an ancient cypress-tree of the desert is to be seen the spring of infant cultivation; the golden ears of the wheat wave over the fallen trunk of an oak, and the harvest of a season replaces the growth of ten centuries. Every where are to be beheld forests delivered over to the flames, sending forth clouds of smoke into the air, and the plough slowly making its way through their roots; land-surveyors with their long chains are measuring the desert, and marking out the first divisions of property on its surface; arbiters settle the disputed limits: the bird abandons its nest; the resting-place of the wild beast is converted into a log-house; and the strokes of the hatchet are the last sounds which are repeated by the echoes, that are themselves perishing with the forests which produced them." Gradually the powers of man assert their destined superiority over those of nature. He not only "replenishes the earth, but subdues it." In a few years the patriarchs of the forest disappear; a few indurated stems, which have withstood alike the fire and the axe of the woodsman, alone rise up above the level expanse of cultivation. The city is ere long seen in the wilderness, and the wilderness is often seen near the city, which has sent forth its swarms to more distant scenes of industry. The capital itself, after thirty years of fostering care on the part of government, presents its disjointed and sickly villages in the centre of the deserted old fields of Maryland, while numberless youthful rivals are flourishing on the waters of the west in spots where the bear has ranged and the wolf howled, long since the former had been termed a city. The smooth and gravelled road sometimes ends in an impassable swamp: the spires of the town are often hid by the branches of the forest, and the canal leads to a seemingly barren and unprofitable mountain.¹ In the midst of this marvellous progress the

¹ Chateaubriand, *Voyages en Amerique*, i. 312. M. Brun, xi. 206. Hall's *America*, iii. 281, 283. Cooper, in *Borderers*, chap. 7.

cultivation of the earth goes on with ceaseless activity. The astonishing riches of a virgin soil, impregnated with the ashes of the forest which overshadowed it, reward fifty-fold even the rudest labours of cultivation. The smiling village, the church spire, the infant school, succeed ; but with them are mingled the spirit-shop, the hotel, the attorney's office ; and civilisation spreads its roots, with its blessings, its passions, and its vices.

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The violence of the mysterious impulse which thus urges the European race into the western solitudes, appears in the strongest manner in all the public means of carriage which transport passengers to these distant regions. Thousands and tens of thousands every week in summer descend from the heights of the Alleghany to the margin of the streams, which promise them the means of passing to the distant regions of the west, all eager for an immediate conveyance to the land of promise. Difficulties cannot retard, dangers cannot deter them. With ceaseless activity and persevering courage, they make their way to the first steam-boats, which carry them down the tributaries of the Ohio to that mighty river, and, without regarding the perils of the passage, or the numerous dangers of steam navigation, demand only to be instantly conveyed to the land of their hopes. Such are the multitudes that flock to these means of transport, and the universal anxiety to get forward, that even the sight of a high-pressure steam-boiler blown up before their eyes, has no effect in deterring others from instantly embarking in the perilous navigation. They ask only a cheap passage and quick voyage. For weeks and months together in summer, they stream down every road which descends from the Alleghany, and crowd to the quays where the steam-boats take their passengers, almost rolling over each other in their anxiety to get forward. No sooner does a boat touch the quay, than it is instantly filled with passengers ; and with scarcely any money in their pockets, and but little provender in their scrips, the hardy adventurers rush forward into the wilderness before them, and gain from the chase a precarious subsistence, till the first returns of cultivation afford them the means of support.¹

28.
Extraordi-
nary progress
of the stream
of emigra-
tion.

¹ Tocq. iv. 274. Chevalier, ii. 23, 24. Alison on Population, i. 547.

Steam navigation is the vital means of communication, by which this extraordinary activity is conveyed into

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29.
Effects of
steam navi-
gation and
paper credit
on the United
States.¹ Chevalier,
ii. 24, 25.30.
Vast paper
circulation of
the United
States.

distant regions. The Ohio, the Mississippi, the Arkansas, and all their numerous tributary streams, are constantly navigated by steam-boats. Nearly three hundred ply on the Mississippi alone; upwards of five hundred are employed on the different rivers which convey this prodigious flood of immigration to the western provinces of the Union. Without the assistance of this mighty agent, which alike aids the descending, and conquers the adverse stream, the progress of cultivation, and clearing of the forest, must have been comparatively slow. Propelled by its marvellous powers, the human race has advanced with the steps of a giant through the vast wilderness prepared for its reception. Steam navigation is to the continent of America, what the circulation is to the human frame; and the commercial wealth and paper currency of the great commercial cities on the shores of the Atlantic, are the moving power in the heart which sets the whole circulation in motion.¹

Immense has been the extent to which this powerful, but perilous, engine of advancement has been carried in the American continent. From an inquiry set on foot in 1834, it appears that there were in the United States at that period five hundred and six banking establishments, independent of the National Bank of the United States at Philadelphia, which last issued notes to the amount of £3,300,000. The private banks issued notes to the amount of £16,200,000 more, making in all a paper circulation of £19,500,000; besides £10,000,000 in specie. This makes the total circulation at that period nearly £30,000,000, or nearly £2 a-head to the whole free population; a proportion considerably greater than obtains in the British Islands,* if the vast extent of the commercial dealings of this empire are taken into consideration. This immense circulation is pushed into the farthest extremities of the states of the Union by means of the branch banks, which, like so many forcing pumps, disseminate the bank-notes through every village and hamlet it contains. Such is the competition of these branch banks for employment, that they are every where established on

* The total paper circulation of the United Kingdom was, prior to the law of 1844, which materially contracted it, £42,300,000, and that in gold and silver £23,000,000; in all, about £65,000,000.—M'CULLOCH'S *Commercial Dictionary*.

the frontiers of civilisation, almost before the surrounding trees are felled. The discounting of bills is carried to an unprecedented extent. The law indeed has, in all the states, fixed eight per cent as the maximum rate of interest, and in most cases it is only six; but the cupidity of lenders, combining with the necessities or speculative tendency of borrowers, very frequently breaks through these restraints, and fixes a higher rate, which is often excessive. One per cent a-month is a usual, three per cent a-month no uncommon occurrence; and these immense profits at once tempt bankers to advance money to needy adventurers, and indemnify them for the numerous losses to which such perilous issues are liable. So powerful an agent is this system of paper credit in forcing and maintaining the industry of the United States, that its influence may be seen in the farthest parts of their possessions; and it is to the greater advantages they enjoy in this respect, more than any other cause, that the superior population, wealth, and cultivation of the southern side of the St Lawrence and lakes, to that which appears on the British side of those noble estuaries, is to be attributed.¹

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He was a wise man who said that paper currency is strength in the outset, but weakness in the end; and America has more than once bitterly felt the truth of this aphorism. The commercial and monetary crises to which she has long been subject have been such that they would have crushed, perhaps for ever, the industry of any other nation. During the war with Great Britain in 1814, the commercial distress was such, that the northern states, including New York, the commercial capital of America, were on the very point of breaking off from the Union; and it was computed that at least two-thirds of the whole traders in the states became insolvent. In the course of the great crisis of 1837, nearly all the cotton-growers in the southern states became bankrupt together; in the still more disastrous convulsion of 1839, the whole banks of Philadelphia and the southern states, including the National Bank of the United States, at once stopped payment; those of New York only avoided a similar catastrophe by a contraction of credit, not less disastrous;² and such was the effect of these repeated shocks upon the

¹ Chevalier
i. 392, 394.

31.
Dreadful disasters with which it has been attended.

² Tocq. iv.
556, 557.
Chevalier, i.
117, 120.

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national fortunes, that the exports of Great Britain to the United States, which in 1836 had reached £12,425,604, in 1837 were only £4,695,225, in 1838 £7,585,760, and in 1842 had sunk to £3,562,000.

32.
Means by
which their
ruin is
repaired.

But these dreadful catastrophes, which would overwhelm any state in the Old World with a mass of pauperism from which it could scarcely recover, cast but a passing cloud over the fortunes of the New. The vast flood of British emigration; the constant increase of population, and consequent rise in the value of every species of property, even without any exertion on the part of its owners; the continual forward expansion of cultivation, in a very short time obliterate the effects of all these disasters. So boundless are the resources of the country, that no human catastrophes seem capable of arresting them. In a few months, a new race of traders succeed those in New York or Philadelphia who have been swept away by the tempest: their bills, often discounted at 12 per cent, soon put them on the perilous road to affluence or ruin: their predecessors, who had sunk before the storm, are transported by the steam-boats to the back settlements, where they speedily enter, with exemplary vigour, upon the labours of cultivation. The ladies of New York and Pennsylvania, once delicate and languishing amidst the frivolities of affluence, are seen active and happy when engaged in the variety of rural or household employment: and the deserts of the Ohio are vivified by a fresh stream of intelligent emigrants, from the effect of those very commercial catastrophes which, to distant spectators, appear to shake to its centre the whole fabric of industry in the New World.¹

¹ Tocq. iv.
557. Cheva-
lier, i. 117,
124.

33.
General well-
being of the
people.

This marvellous rapidity of increase has hitherto not only been unattended with any addition to human suffering, but it has taken its rise rather from the prodigious extent to which, owing to the combined bounty of nature and efforts of man, general prosperity has been diffused through all classes of the community. Among the many marvels which strike a European traveller on his first approach to the United States, one of the most extraordinary is the general well-being which pervades all classes of the community. Pauperism, indeed, exists to a most distressing extent in many of the first peopled

states along the sea-coast, and nearly all the great commercial towns of the Union: poor's rates are in consequence generally established, and benevolence is taxed nearly as severely as in the old monarchies and dense population of the European nations. But these are the exceptions, not the rule. In the rural districts, and especially in the states which lie in the basin of the Mississippi, there is scarcely a working man who does not eat butcher meat twice a-day. So great is the demand for all kinds of labour, that common workmen everywhere receive from sixteen to twenty shillings a-week: skilled labourers, such as masons and carpenters, from thirty to forty shillings for their ordinary wages. Such is the magnitude of these gains as compared with the cost of food, clothing, and other necessities, that a common workman, with ordinary prudence, is able in two years to lay by enough to purchase and stock a little freehold of twenty or thirty acres. At the end of two years more, the return of the few acres which he has cleared and sown is so considerable as to place him and his family, not only beyond the reach of want, but on the fair road to rustic opulence. The old observation of Adam Smith still holds good, that in America a widow with eight children is sought after, and married, as an heiress; and, as in the days of the patriarchs, the greater the number of arrows in the quiver of the American cultivator, the greater is his strength in the gate.¹

¹ Hall's, Martineau's, Buckingham's, America, *passim*. Chevalier, i. 158.

It is the universal diffusion and extraordinary facility of acquiring property over all the States of the Union, which is the great cause of the coincidence of this astonishing increase, with the continued well-being of all the individuals, at least in the rural districts, of whom the population consists. Over the whole of America there is not to be found a single *farmer*, in the European sense of the word—that is, a cultivator who pays rent to a landlord for the ground which he occupies.² Every man is the proprietor of the land which he cultivates. Eight-ninths of the population in the rural districts are engaged in the cultivation of the soil; and even taking into view the whole inhabitants of the Union, the cultivators are to all the other classes of society put together, in the

34.
Proportion of agricultural to other classes in Great Britain and America.

² Tocq. iii. 47.

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¹ Census of
America,
1840.

proportion of nearly *four to one*.* This fact is very remarkable, and affords the most decisive refutation of Mr Malthus's celebrated principle of the increasing pressure of population on subsistence in the later stages of society. For in Great Britain, by the late census, the proportion lies just the other way; *one-fourth* of the whole population engaged in agriculture, raising subsistence for the remaining three-fourths engaged in commerce and manufactures.¹†

Nay, in America itself, the same law of nature is distinctly demonstrated;‡ for while over the whole Union the cultivators are to the other classes as four to one, in the agricultural states beyond the Alleghany they are as

* The following is the proportion of the agricultural to the other classes of society in the United States in 1840:—

Agricultural,	.	.	.	.	.	.	3,717,756
Other classes, viz.—Mining,	.	.	.	.	.	15,203	
Commerce,	.	.	.	.	.	117,575	
Manufactures,	.	.	.	.	.	791,554	
Sailors,	.	.	.	.	.	56,025	
On Lakes,	.	.	.	.	.	33,067	
Learned Professions,	.	.	.	.	.	65,236	

All other classes, 1,078,660

† By the census of 1831, out of 3,414,175 families in Great Britain, 961,134, or nearly a fourth only, (282 in 1000) are employed in the production of food. By the census of 1841, the agricultural population has in many places declined, and the manufacturing every where immensely increased, and hardly a fourth are employed in raising food for the remaining three-fourths.—PORTER, i. 59; and *Census* 1841.

‡ The following table shows the proportion of the agriculturists to the other classes of the states beyond the Alleghany Mountains:—*videlicet*—

States and Territories.	Agriculture.	Mining.	Commerce.	Manufactures and Trades.	Sailors on the Ocean.	Sailors on the Lakes.	Learned Professions.	Total not Agricultural.
N. Carolina,	217,095	589	1734	14,322	327	379	1086	
S. Carolina,	198,363	51	1958	10,325	381	348	1481	
Georgia,	209,383	574	2428	7,984	262	352	1250	
Alabama,	177,439	96	2212	7,195	256	758	1514	
Mississippi,	139,724	14	1303	4,151	33	100	1506	
Louisiana,	79,289	—	8549	7,565	1322	662	1018	
Tennessee,	227,739	103	2217	17,815	55	302	2042	
Kentucky,	197,738	331	3448	23,217	44	968	2487	
Ohio,	272,579	704	9201	66,265	212	3323	5663	
Indiana,	148,806	233	3076	20,590	89	627	2257	
Illinois,	105,337	782	2506	13,185	63	310	2021	
Missouri,	92,408	742	2522	11,100	39	1885	1469	
Arkansas,	26,355	41	215	1,173	3	39	301	
	2,092,255	4260	41,369	204,887	3086	10,053	24,095	287,751

American Census, 1841.

eight to one. And yet, in Great Britain, anterior to the last five extraordinarily bad seasons, subsistence, derived almost entirely from domestic cultivation, was not only abundant, but overflowing; and wheat, for the first time for a hundred years, was, in 1835, under thirty-six shillings a quarter; while the average amount of foreign grain imported had been steadily diminishing ever since the commencement of the present century.* Thus, while on the virgin soil, and amidst the boundless profusion of America, four cultivators only maintain one person engaged in pursuits unconnected with agriculture, amidst the dense and long-established population of Great Britain, one cultivator maintains four manufacturers and artisans: a fact which demonstrates, that so far from population, in the later stages of society, pressing on subsistence, the powers of agriculture daily, in such circumstances, acquire a more decisive superiority over those of population.¹

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35.

Which demonstrates the increasing power of man over subsistence as society advances.

¹ Alison on Population, chap. ii. vol. i. 40, 53.

Accuse not nature; she hath done her part,
Do thou but thine; and be not diffident
Of wisdom: she deserts thee not, if thou
Dismiss not her.†

But in America there is one circumstance connected with the race of cultivators which is very remarkable, and altogether unparalleled in any other age or country of the world. In every nation that has hitherto appeared, the enjoyment of property, and engrossing of mankind in the cares of agriculture, have been found to be attended with the strongest possible attachment by the owners of the soil to the little freeholds which they cultivate; and nothing short of the greatest disasters in life has been able to tear them away from the seats of their childhood, and the spots on which their own industry and that of their fathers has been exerted. Mungo Park has told us how strong this feeling is in the heart of Africa among the poor negroes: "To him no water is sweet but that

36.

General attachment of men to their landed possessions.

* Average of corn imported into Great Britain

	Quarters.
from 1800 to 1810 . . .	600,468
1810 to 1820 . . .	458,578
1820 to 1830 . . .	534,992
1830 to 1835 . . .	398,509
1835 to 1840§ . . .	1,992,548

PORTER'S *Progress of Nation*, ii. 145: and *Parl. Tables*, ix. 164.† *Par. Lost*, viii. 560.

§ Five bad seasons in succession.

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¹ Park's
Travels, i.
247.

² Heber's
Travels, ii.
247.

³ Young's
Travels in
France, i.
496. Tocq.
ii. 204.

37.
Universal
migratory
turn of the
Americans.

which is drawn from his own well, and no shade refreshing but the tabba tree of his native dwelling. When carried into captivity by a neighbouring tribe, he never ceases to languish during his exile, seizes the first moment to escape, rebuilds with haste his fallen walls, and exults to see the smoke ascend from his native village."¹ In Ceylon, Bishop Heber informs us, the attachment of the cultivators to their little properties is such, that it is not unusual to see a man the proprietor of the hundred and fiftieth part of a single tree.² In France, the same principle has always been strongly felt; and Arthur Young long ago remarked, that it continues with undiminished strength, though the freehold is reduced to the fraction of a tree. In Canada local attachment operates among the *habitans* of French descent with such force, that in place of extending into the surrounding wilds, the cultivators divide and subdivide among their children the freeholds they have already acquired; population multiplies *inwards*, not *outwards*, and instead of spreading over and fertilising the desert, it leads, as in old France, to an infinite subdivision among the inhabitants of the land already cultivated.³

In America, on the other hand, for the first time in the history of mankind, this strong and general feeling seems to be entirely obliterated. Though the labourers of that country have probably derived greater advantages from the cultivation of the soil than any other people that ever existed, yet they have no sort of attachment either to the land which they have acquired, or to that which they have inherited from their fathers. Not only is real property almost always sold and divided at the death of the head of a family, but even during his lifetime, emigration from one spot to another is so frequent, that it may be considered as the grand social characteristic of the American people. However long and happily a proprietor may have lived upon his little domain; though it may have been the sepulchre of his fathers, the playground of his infancy, the harbour of his wedded love, the nursery of his children; though it may be endeared to him by all the ties which can bind man to material nature, and the severance of which, in other countries, constitutes the last drop in the cup of the

vanquished—an American is always ready to sell it, if he can do so for a profit ; and putting himself and his family, with all his effects, on board the first steam-boat, make his way to a distant part of the country, and commence again, perhaps at a distance of some hundred miles, the great and engrossing work of accumulating wealth. To turn money into land, and take root in the soil, and leave his descendants there, is the great object of ambition in the Old World. To turn land into money, and leave his children afloat, but affluent in society, is the universal desire in the New. This peculiarity is so remarkable, and so totally at variance with what had previously been ever observed in nations engaged in the cultivation of the soil, that it may be considered in a social point of view as the grand characteristic of society in the United States of America ; and its present condition, at least beyond the Alleghany mountains, cannot be so well characterised in comparison with that of other countries, as by styling it the **NOMAD AGRICULTURAL STATE**.¹

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¹ Tocq. ii.
121. Chev. ii.
121, 123.

This extraordinary peculiarity appears to be mainly owing to three causes :—1. The universal passion for democratic equality, has led in practice to a general division of landed estates among all the children equally, or with sometimes a double portion only to the eldest. The law allows a certain portion of the land to be otherwise disposed of by will ; but primogeniture is so repugnant to general opinion, that this power is hardly ever acted upon, and equal division is all but universal. Hence a landed property is never looked to as a permanent family resting-place. It is merely a temporary lodging, to be used till the owner's death breaks it up into lots, or till he can get an opportunity of disposing of it to advantage. Hereditary feeling is unknown in America ; even family portraits, pictures of beloved parents, are often not framed, as it is well understood that, at the death of the head of the family, they will all be sold and turned into dollars, to be divided among the children.

38.
Causes of this
peculiarity.
The general
custom of
dividing land
among chil-
dren.

2. Agriculture being the general, and in many places almost the only profession, it is regarded as a *vulgar* occupation. The aristocracy, except in Virginia and the Carolinas, where primogeniture has more strongly taken root, is never to be found among the landowners any more

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1814.

39.

The regard-
ing of agri-
culture as a
vulgar pro-
fession.¹ Chev. i.
109, 201.

40.

Effect of the
continual rise
in the value
of land in the
newly cleared
parts of
America.

than among the merchants. The little freeholders on the Ohio and the Mississippi are the grand support of the extreme democratic party; and the conservative cause is upheld only by the merchants of New York, Philadelphia, and the other commercial towns on the coast. The democratic cry there is not down with the landed, but down with the *paper* aristocracy. The whole clamour against paper currency, which has recently convulsed the Union, and in its effects brought insolvency upon nine-tenths of the whole trading classes throughout the country, was in reality a political movement. They wanted to destroy paper credit, and stop bank issues, because they knew perfectly that was the last citadel in which the influence of property was intrenched, and that when it was ruined the whole power of the state would be centred in numbers. The same instinct which roused such a fever in France against the noblesse, made the American democrats run at the banks.^{1*}

3. The prodigious rise in the value of property on the frontiers of civilisation, in consequence of the felling of forests and spread of cultivation around it, offers a prospect of accumulating fortunes and amassing wealth, far beyond what can be obtained from the slow and regular returns of long-established agricultural industry. In the states in the basin of the Mississippi, if a man can only muster up a hundred dollars, and buy as many acres of land, he is certain that in ten years, by the mere lapse of time, and accumulation of population around him, it will be worth, with very little exertion on his part, five hundred or a thousand. Hence the universal fever to get on to the frontier, and by a cheap purchase of virgin land at once reap the first fruits of the bounty of nature, and the first profits arising from the rapid multiplication of man. And truly, when we recollect that the population of the states to the westward of the Alleghany has augmented fifty-fold in the last half-century, it may be conceived what prodigious profits must have been realised by all those who were fortunate enough first to get possession of the land; and we shall cease to wonder at the

* We have felt the same in Great Britain. "To stop the Duke, go for gold." Mankind are the same at bottom in all countries; the difference lies in the circumstances, or institutions, which do or do not permit the rapacity of a single class to oppress or ruin the others.

universal passion which, obliterating all recollections of home, infancy, and place of nativity, perpetually urges the American race towards the frontiers of civilisation, the real El Dorado of the New World.

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XC.
1814.

Nothing is more remarkable in America than the universal activity and industry which prevail among all classes of society. That the Anglo-Saxon race in Europe is laborious, persevering, and energetic, need not be told to any one who witnesses the colossal fabric of British greatness, or the vast impression which England has made in every quarter of the globe. But, enterprising as it is in Great Britain, it is not influenced by such a restless spirit of activity, such a perpetual fervour of exertion, as appears among its descendants in the New World. The vast facilities for the acquisition of fortune, which the prodigious increase of population and boundless extent of fertile land afford; the entire absence of all hereditary rank or property, which opens the career of elevation and distinction alike to every citizen; the engrossing thirst for gold, which springs from its being the only source of influence, and the only durable basis of power, have combined, with the active and persevering habits which they have inherited from their Anglo-Saxon ancestors, to produce in the Americans a universal spirit of industry and enterprise, to which nothing comparable has ever been witnessed among mankind. It is the fervour of Roman conquest, turned only to war with the desert; the fever of French democracy, yet "guiltless of its country's blood." In the British Islands, if energy and perseverance distinguish the middle classes, labour and industry the lower, the higher ranks are often indolent or luxurious; and with the graces of patrician manners, they have sometimes imbibed the selfishness and indolence of patrician wealth. But in America, all are in a state of activity. Every human being, except the pauper and the lunatic, is engaged in some profession.¹

41.
Extraordi-
nary activity
of the Ameri-
cans.

¹ Chev. ii.
118, 123, 124.
Tocq. i. 84.

The enterprise of the Americans, however, differs from that which at least in former times laid the deep and solid foundation of British greatness. It is far more vehement, ardent, and speculative. If it is true, as the Scripture says, that "he who hasteneth to be rich shall not be innocent," there are few blameless characters in the United

42.
Ardent and
impetuous
character of
the people.

CHAP.
XC.
1814.

States. The few idlers from Europe find themselves so useless and contemptible amidst the general din of activity with which they are surrounded, that they are driven to exertion in their own defence. Wealth being universally felt to be the only passport either to influence, enjoyment, or consideration, it is every where sought after with an avidity unknown even in the most commercial states of the Old World. Speculations the most rash, enterprises the most dangerous, undertakings often the most absurd, are gone into with avidity, prosecuted with energy, and never given up in mere fickleness. If it turns out, as is not unfrequently the case, that the affair is of such a kind that it can by no possible effort be brought to a successful issue, it is abandoned in a state of bankruptcy: the speculators get on board steam-boats, hurry away to the frontier, and commence anew with undiminished energy the great and all-important business of amassing wealth. Every thing goes on at the gallop. Neither society nor the individuals who compose it ever pause for an instant: new undertakings are incessantly commencing; new paths of life continually attempted by the unfortunate; successful industry ardently prosecuted by the prosperous. Projects of philanthropy, of commerce, of canals, of railways, of banking, of religious and social amelioration, succeed one another with breathless rapidity, and are gone into with ardent zeal by the different classes of society, according to their inclinations and habits. A European, bred up amidst the stillness of social life on the Continent, is almost stunned, when he lands at New York, by the din with which he is surrounded; and even an Englishman, accustomed to the corresponding turmoil in which the commercial cities of his own country are involved, sees enough to convince him that an additional impulse has been communicated to his already active race, by the democratic institutions and vast capabilities of the New World.¹

¹ Chev. ii. 122, 124.
Tocq. ii. 128, 130. Martineau, Society in America, iii. 40, 41.

43.
Universal discontent in America.

At first sight it would be supposed that a country such as this, possessing unbounded natural advantages, with unlimited power of elevation and means of advancement open to all, even the humblest of the community, and with no hereditary rank or arbitrary privileges to keep back or prefer any in the common race, must be not only

one of the most rising, but one of the happiest in the world. Nevertheless, it is just the reverse; and this is the people of all others where at once general progress is the greatest, and private discontent the most universal. All classes and ranks are dissatisfied with their condition, and plod on in sullen carefulness, which is so strong as to be apparent in their habits, their manners, even the expression of their countenances. The scholars are dissatisfied: they complain of the superficial character of literature, and lament that its tone, instead of rising, is progressively sinking, with the extension of the power of reading to the middle and working orders of society. The professional men are dissatisfied: they allege that their rank is lower than in Europe; that they are overshadowed by commercial wealth, and find no compensation in the esteem or respect in which their avocations are held, or the society, often imperfectly educated and ill-mannered, of which it is composed. The merchants are dissatisfied: they declare that they are worn to death by excessive toil; and are surrounded by such a multitude of competitors, and slippery undertakings, that it is seldom they can preserve their fortunes during their lives, and still more rarely that they can bequeath them in safety to their children. Even the mechanics and cultivators are dissatisfied. Outwardly blessed beyond any other class that society has ever contained, they are consumed by the incessant thirst for riches and advancement—a thirst which not even the boundless capabilities of the basin of the Mississippi has been able to slake. In all this there is nothing surprising. Individual dissatisfaction, and the desire to remove it by rising in the world, is at once the mainspring of the general progress, and the certain cause of private discontent, in free communities. In despotic states all are contented, because none can get on; in democratic states none are contented, because all can get on. And thus it is that Nature, in mercy to her offspring, equalises in all respects, save from inequality in virtue, the sum of human happiness.¹

¹ Martineau,
iii. 40, 49.
Chev. ii. 374.

“Our present civilisation,” says Channing, “is characterised and tainted by a devouring greediness for wealth; the passion for gain is every where sapping pure and

CHAP.
XC.

1814.

44.

General
thirst for
wealth.¹ Channing's
Letter to
Birney, 1837.

generous feeling, and raising up bitter foes against any reform which may threaten to turn aside the stream of wealth. I sometimes feel as if a great reform were necessary to break up our present mercenary civilisation, in order that Christianity, now repelled by the universal worldliness, may come into near contact with the soul, and reconstruct society after its own pure and disinterested principles."¹ This is strictly true, and it is the necessary effect of those democratic institutions, which, by removing all other distinctions, concentrate the whole aspirations of the human mind upon this one object of ambition. But though beyond all precedent desirous of wealth, the American is far from being avaricious or tenacious in its disposal: like Catiline, he is "*alieni appetens, sui profusus*." In no country is wealth bestowed with a more lavish hand on all undertakings, public or private, promising a return for money, or gifted, in a more generous spirit, to every institution of a religious or charitable description. All its great towns can boast of noble establishments for education, public worship, and the relief of suffering, almost entirely supported by private contributions, which can vie with any in the world, both in the magnificence of their undertakings, and the benevolent ardour with which they are superintended and supported. It would seem as if the extraordinary facilities which they enjoy of getting wealth, make them liberal and generous in its disposal. The most common cause of an avaricious disposition is the experience of difficulty in making money: generosity is in general the child of easy circumstances.²

² Chev. ii.
159. Buck-
ingham's
America, ii.
237, 248,
and *passim*.45.
Commercial
cities of
America.

Although the mission of America evidently is to the people what has been well termed "the Reserve of Nature;" and her democratic institutions, and national character, impel her people with such violence towards that noble destiny; yet she is great, also, in her seaport towns and commercial activity. The very transit of such a multitude of emigrants, on their way to the land of promise in the West—the wants of such a vast and rapidly-increasing population—necessarily induce a very great foreign trade. New York, the commercial capital of America, already numbers three hundred and twelve thousand inhabitants, and, at its present rate of increase,

will in twenty years have six hundred thousand ; Philadelphia has two hundred thousand ; Boston, Baltimore, New Orleans, are all rapidly increasing, and will soon rival the greatest commercial cities of the Old World.* The ardent spirit of enterprise, the insatiable passion for gambling adventures, by which the inhabitants of the United States are so peculiarly distinguished, occasion indeed periodical and rapidly returning crises of commercial or monetary distress, and overwhelm the land with a flood of embarrassment exceeding any thing ever experienced from pacific causes in the Old World. But these dreadful catastrophes, though the cause of unbounded private suffering, produce apparently no lasting diminution in the general progress of their commercial activity. A new race of energetic adventurers, equally capable, equally daring, immediately succeeds that which has been swept away. The great work of private effort and public advancement continues with unabated vigour ; the flame, apparently extinguished for ever, burns up again with fresh brilliancy ; wave after wave is broken on the shore, but the great flood-tide still streams forward, and rises higher and higher upon the beach.

The American seaman possesses all the hardihood and daring which have given to those of Great Britain the empire of the ocean, and is stimulated in addition by a spirit of adventure, a thirst for gain, exceeding that of his hardy progenitors on the wave. The progress of American foreign commerce has been more rapid, for the last half century, than that of England during the same or any former period. The same indomitable perseverance

46.
Progress of
American
commerce
and shipping

* The following table exhibits the past progress and present population of the principal cities in America :—

	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.
New York, .	33,131	60,489	96,373	123,706	203,007	312,710
Philadelphia, .	42,520	70,287	96,664	108,116	167,118	228,691
Baltimore, .	13,503	26,614	46,555	62,738	80,625	102,313
New Orleans, .	—	—	17,242	27,176	46,310	102,193
Boston, .	18,038	24,927	32,250	43,298	61,392	93,383
Cincinnati, .	—	750	2,540	9,644	24,831	46,338
Brooklyn, .	—	3,298	4,402	7,175	12,042	36,233
Albany, .	3,498	5,349	9,356	12,630	24,238	33,721
Charleston, .	16,359	18,712	24,711	24,480	30,289	29,261
Washington, .	—	3,210	8,208	13,247	18,827	23,364
Providence, .	—	7,614	10,071	11,767	16,832	23,171

—*American Statistical Almanack for 1842, p. 261.*

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and inextinguishable passion for advancement, which drive their race with such violence towards the Rocky Mountains, have sent them forth with equal vigour in the opposite direction, and impelled their sails into every creek and bay of the navigable seas. Their pendants are to be seen alongside those of England in every harbour of the world: in London and Liverpool, Petersburg and Constantinople: in the waters of Canton and the Gulf of New Zealand: amidst the ices of the South Pole and on the frozen shores of Greenland. Individual adventure, private enterprise, have in so short a time achieved all these prodigies: the American commercial navy owes nothing to the encouragement or power of its government. The American shipmaster stretches across the Atlantic with a scanty crew and ill-equipped ship: indefatigable exertion, untiring watchfulness, supply the want of numbers; he takes in his cargo of tea at Canton, returns to New York, sells it at a halfpenny a pound cheaper than his British rival, and is content.* It is in this minute attention to details, and indefatigable vigour, that the secret of the rapid progress of the American commercial navy is to be found. Yet is its value so considerable as to have now (1840) reached, in exports, the vast amount of 131,500,000 dollars, or £27,089,000, of which 113,000,000 dollars, or £23,278,000, is for the value of domestic produce. The imports for the same year were 104,000,000 dollars, or £21,424,000 sterling.¹ Both exports and imports

¹ Woodbury's
Report to
Congress,
Dec. 9, 1840.

* Table showing the progress of exports and imports of the United States:—

Years.	Total value of exports, foreign and domestic.	Total value of imports.
1821	£13,544,661	£13,038,592
1825	20,736,539	20,070,849
1830	15,385,314	14,766,025
1831	16,939,703	21,498,140
1832	18,161,862	21,047,764
1833	18,779,255	22,524,648
1834	21,736,868	26,358,610
1835	25,352,822	31,228,279
1836	26,804,799	39,579,174
1837	24,702,355	29,292,544
1838	22,121,854	22,431,350
1839	25,557,104	32,523,120
1840	26,892,041	21,201,470

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, ii. 190.—*American Statistical Almanack for 1842*, p 120

have more than doubled in the last twenty years ; a progress somewhat greater than the British foreign commerce has made during the same period.

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The American navy at this time (1841) consists of seven ships of the line, and four on the stocks, seventeen frigates, twenty-one sloops, and twelve schooners and brigs ; no very formidable force for a power which boasts its ability to contend with Great Britain for the empire of the waves. The real strength of their marine is to be found in the vast and growing amount of their commercial vessels, and the vigour and courage which long training on the storms of the Atlantic has communicated to the already hardy and intrepid race of their seamen. The marine seamen of their whole states for the year 1840 numbered fifty-six thousand ; a considerable commercial navy, from whence powerful supplies of sailors, already trained to the most material parts of their duty, may at all times be obtained. The pay they give to the seamen and inferior officers is very high ; to the superior ones proportionally low ; a peculiarity observable universally in the United States, where democratic parsimony can only relax in favour of that class with which itself sympathises, and from the comforts of which itself may derive benefit. Gunners receive £150 a-year, boatswains £180, captains on duty only £625. The wages of common sailors, being four or five pounds a-month, are so considerable as to attract a large portion of British seamen into their service, whom, from the identity of language and habits between the two states, it is impossible to distinguish ; while the diminutive number of their ships, compared with those of Great Britain, renders it impossible for the latter power to attempt to vie with the United States in the amount of the remuneration they can hold out to the naval service.¹

47.
Their present
naval estab-
lishment.

¹ American
Navy List,
1841, in Stat.
Almanack,
1842, p. 79,
81.

If the navy of America, even in the present maturity of its power, is small, its military force is still more inconsiderable, and affords a striking proof of the entirely pacific direction which the national strength has hitherto taken. It consists of eight regiments of infantry, three of cavalry, and three of artillery, numbering in all twelve thousand five hundred and thirty-seven combatants ! This is just the strength of a Roman legion, or of one of Napoleon's divisions. It is not a fifth part of the military

48.
Their mili-
tary force.

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force of Bavaria, nor a half of that maintained by Saxony or Würtemberg. Such as it is, this Lilliputian force is scattered over fifty fortified posts on the frontier, and twelve arsenals in the interior, stretching over an extent two thousand miles in length, being not, on an average, two hundred and fifty men to each. Of all marvels, this amount of military force is the most marvellous, when the magnitude and resources of the Republic are taken into view, the vast extent of frontier they have to defend, and the arrogant tone which they assume in their diplomatic intercourse with foreign states. It is true they have a militia every where established, which in periods of danger, may, it is said, enrol fifteen hundred thousand combatants around its banners.* But although such a force, composed of backwoodsmen, combating behind trees in their forests, is doubtless very formidable, and may sometimes make a stout resistance behind intrenchments in the neighbourhood of towns; yet the result of the war of 1812 demonstrated, what *à priori* might have been readily imagined, that it is incapable of carrying on war in the field, is wholly unfit for offensive operations, and cannot be relied on for the defence even of the strongest positions, if assailed with skill by much inferior forces. The proof of this is decisive: the Americans allowed their capital to be taken and pillaged by a British division, that could not muster three thousand five hundred bayonets. De Tocqueville was never more correct than when he asserted, that if America were placed in the midst of the European powers, it would at the end of a century, if still independent, have made a much more rapid progress than any of them; but that it would run the most imminent hazard of being three or four times conquered, in the interim, by monarchies not possessing a fourth part of its material resources.¹

¹ Army List, 1841. Stat. Almanack, 83. Tocq. ii. 274.

Incredibly small as the naval and military establishments of the United States appear to one accustomed to

* The militia of the whole States amounted, according to the army list of 1841, to 1,503,952 men in arms.

That of New York was,	-	-	-	169,435
Pennsylvania,	-	-	-	257,178
Virginia,	-	-	-	105,122
Ohio,	-	-	-	146,428

—*Militia Abstract*, 1841; *State Almanack for 1841*, p. 85.

contemplate the colossal armaments of the European powers, they are fully as large as the scanty revenue at the disposal of the central government can afford to maintain. Such is the impatience of taxation in America, as in all countries where democratic power is really, and not, as in republican France, nominally established, that no consideration will induce them to submit to the burdens necessary to put the independence of the confederacy on a secure foundation. The ordinary national revenue at this time, (1840,) is only 17,197,000 dollars, or £3,546,000; and including all extraordinary aids, no more than 28,234,000 dollars, or £5,858,000. The expenditure is 26,643,636 dollars, or £5,488,000. There is no national debt properly so called, that is, attaching to the central government, excepting a floating balance of three or four millions of dollars in exchequer bills, issued during the dreadful commercial embarrassments and consequent fall of revenue during the last four years. Of this revenue, four-fifths, or about 15,000,000 of dollars, (£3,090,000,) is derived from customs: there is no excise or direct taxes to the general government of any kind; and the remainder is almost entirely drawn from the sale of the lands belonging to the State, which in the year 1840 produced 2,620,000 dollars, or £539,000.¹

This, however, is but a part of the revenues and debt of the United States. Each of the separate states in the Union has a separate exchequer, receipts, expenditure, and debt of its own, from which its local expenses, such as judges, courts of justice, militia, &c. are defrayed. The greater part of the debt of each separate state has been contracted by their local legislature for the promotion of great public improvements, such as roads, canals, railways, and bridges, for the benefit of the community; and these debts are very considerable, amounting in all to 248,841,540 dollars, or £51,000,000. This is a fact of no small moment to Great Britain at this time, considering that at least two-thirds of this sum is due to English capitalists, and that the democratic masters of several of these states have already adopted the convenient device of "repudiating" the debt, in other words, refusing to pay either its principal or interest, after it has been expended for their behoof. The states which have

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49.

Revenue and
expenditure
of the United
States.¹ Finance
Statement,
1841. Stat.
Almanack,
1841, 97.

50.

Revenues
and debt of
the separate
states.

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¹ See Finance State-
ment in Stat.
Alm. 1841,
97, 98.

adopted this disgraceful step owe 100,000,000 dollars, or £22,000,000, and include Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and some others beyond the Alleghany mountains. Pennsylvania has failed in the regular payment of the interest of its debt ; and even in the great commercial capital of New York, symptoms of no equivocal kind have appeared of a disposition to relieve the people of the disagreeable burden of discharging their obligations.¹

51.
Sketch of the
American
constitution.

The government of America, as all the world knows, is a pure and unmixed democracy ; established on a scale, and over an extent, to which there never has been a parallel in the annals of mankind. The central government—the local government—the officers of state, the president of the republic, the judges and civil officers of every description, in all the states, are elected by the universal suffrage of the people, either through the medium of the elections for their separate legislatures, or the general election for the national office-bearers. So great is the amount of the constituency which may be called on to vote on the election of a president, that it is not unusual to see nearly two millions and a half of electors record their suffrages on that interesting occasion ; and nearly that number actually voted at the election of General Harrison on 4th of March 1841.* This is somewhat less than the proportion capable of bearing arms, in a population of 14,500,000 free whites in round numbers, being about *one to six* in the whole free inhabitants. In Great Britain and Ireland there are 830,000 electors out of 27,000,000 people, or 1 in 32 only ; in France, less than 200,000 among 32,000,000, or 1 in 190 ! So widely different is the extent to which the electoral suffrage has been carried, in the three countries in the world where the greatest efforts in favour of freedom have been made, and popular institutions have been established on the broadest basis. It will not appear surprising, when these figures are considered, that the Americans should be repudiating their debts, while those

* On that occasion there voted for

Harrison,	:	:	:	1,274,783
Van Buren,	:	:	:	1,128,702

Total electors,	2,403,485
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—Stat. Almanack 1841, 53.

of England have always been, and of France are now, at least, religiously upheld. The mass of the people are, no doubt, deeply interested in the *final* result of keeping faith with the public creditor; but the immediate effect of its violation promises them a most alluring liberation, in the outset, from disagreeable burdens. The majority of men in all ages are governed by the first effect of measures, and such as strike the senses only. Ultimate consequences, overwhelming in their influence on the thinking few, are wholly overlooked by the unthinking many. The majority of men will never discharge their obligations if they can possibly help it. If Great Britain wants to shake off its national debt, it has only to extend the suffrage in any considerable degree, and the burden will not stand three months.

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According to the theory of the American constitution, a great variety of checks are established, intended to limit and restrain the inordinate power given to the popular voice in the formation of government. The principle of their union is, that whatever power is not expressly vested in the federal government, belongs of right to the assemblies of the separate states; and the central authority itself is restrained as much as appeared necessary under such a system for its formation. The general government, which meets at Washington in congress, consists of two chambers—the Senate and House of Representatives. Each state sends two members to the Senate, and a certain number, in proportion to the population, which is fixed every ten years, to that of the Representatives. This proportion was originally made one to every thirty thousand persons; but in 1792 this was changed to one in thirty-three thousand; and in 1832, to one in forty-eight thousand souls.¹ The House of Representatives is named by the direct and immediate vote of the people; the Senate, by the choice of the state legislature: thus the first is the result of a single, the second of a double election. In the first instance, the seat endures for two—in the second, for six years. The Chamber of Representatives is endowed only with legislative powers; the Senate, in addition to these, with certain judicial and executive duties. No bill can become a law until it passes both houses;² but, in addition to

52.

The Senate and House of Representatives; their constitution and power.

¹ Story, Laws of United States, i. 235.

² Story, 199, 314. Tocq. i. 197, and 200.

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this, the Senate judges of impeachments preferred by the lower house for state offences, and its consent is requisite to ratify treaties with foreign powers, and validate certain appointments to offices made by the President.

53.
Powers of the
President.

The executive power is vested, in a great degree, in the President, whose functions are intended to correspond with those of a sovereign in the European monarchies ; but, both in substantial authority and theoretical right, the two are essentially different. His tenure of office is not for life, but for four years ; and a vice-president is always elected with the President, who, in the event of his death while in office, succeeds without any further election. The President can propose no laws to Congress, and his ministers are excluded in like manner as himself ; so that it is only by indirect means that the views of government can be laid before the legislature. No inviolability is attached to the office of supreme magistrate, as to the constitutional monarchs of France and England. The President carries the laws into execution, but he has no share in their formation ; he can refuse his sanction to them, but by a singular anomaly, though that prevents their execution, it does not prevent them from being laws, and being enforced when a more pliant chief of the republic is elected. The only real source of influence which the President enjoys, is the nomination to employments under government ; and their number is very considerable, for it already amounts to sixty thousand,* the greater part of whom are removed with every change of administration.

¹ Tocq. i.
207, 209.
Kent's Com-
mentaries, i.
289. Chev. i.
328.

54.
Sovereignty
of the people.

It is not, however, either in the President or the Senate, in the ministers of state or the House of Representatives, that the true sovereignty of the United States resides. Government is really vested in THE PEOPLE : and that, too, not in the figurative and hyperbolic sense in which that expression is used in the declamations of modern Europe, but really, practically, and effectively. Each

* Offices in America in the gift of the executive :—

Collection of taxes and general administration,	12,144
Military, and service against the Indians,	9,643
Navy,	6,499
Post-Office,	31,917

60,203

—CALHOUN'S *Report to the Senate*, 1836 ; given in CHEVALIER, ii. 461 ; Note 46.

separate state is a democracy in itself, and in it the power of the people is exerted without any control. Every one has its governor, its senate, and house of representatives ; the whole number of which, in both houses, are elected by the universal suffrage of the people. The senators, in these state legislatures, vary from twelve to ninety-three in number : the representatives from twenty-six to three hundred and fifty-two. These legislative bodies are vested with what practically amounts to absolute powers in their separate states, and the governor carries into effect the declared will of the majority of both houses, in like manner as he does the declared will of Congress. They exclusively manage their debts, finances, improvements, judicial establishment, militia, harbours, roads, railways, canals, and whole local concerns. So extensive and undefined are their powers, that it may be doubted whether they do not amount to those of declaring peace and war, and acting in all respects as independent states. Certain it is, that on more than one occasion, particularly the dispute with the southern states in 1834, on the question of nullifying the tariff of duties established by Congress ; and the open hostilities which the northern states carried on with the British inhabitants on the Canada frontier in 1837 and 1839 ; the separate states, the Carolinas in the first instance, and New York and Maine in the second, took upon themselves to set the authority of the central government at defiance ; and Congress and the executive were glad to veil their weakness under the disguise of moderation, while in reality they succumbed to the whole demands of the insurgent commonwealths. It does not require the gift of prophecy to foretell, that a vast confederacy of separate states, each with its own legislature and armed force, and actuated, from difference of climate and situation, by opposite and conflicting interests, held together by so slender a tie, is not destined to hang long together.¹

¹ Tocq. i. 99,
130. Stat.
Alm. 1840,
126.

In one important respect America differs entirely from any state of Christendom, or indeed any that ever before existed in the world. It acknowledges no state religion ; and no public funds whatever are provided for the clergy, or religious instructors of any denomination. All are on the footing of dissenters in England ; that is, they are

55.
Religion in
the United
States.

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¹ Tocq. ii.
224. Mart.
iii. 272.
Bucking-
ham, i. 230,
241.

56.
Dependence
of the clergy
on their
flocks.

² Tocq. ii.
224, 228.
Chev. ii. 328.
Mart. iii.
272, 283.

maintained solely by the seat-rents, or the voluntary contributions of their flocks. Churches, especially in the great towns, are numerous, and embrace every possible variety of belief, from the austere Puritan, the genuine descendant of the patriarchs who, two centuries ago, sought a refuge in New England from the persecution of Charles I., to the lax Socinian, whose creed scarcely differs from that of the Deist of ancient times. Episcopacy is the prevailing religion of the higher classes in the principal cities of the Union, except Baltimore: but the Presbyterians are also very numerous; and, in several districts, the Roman Catholics are making great progress, insomuch that they now number above two millions of souls within the pale of their church in the whole states of the Union.¹

Religion in the United States being entirely separated from civil government, its ministers are relieved from that jealousy which in Great Britain is attached by the democratic party to every person in any situation of trust, whether civil or ecclesiastical, whose nomination is not vested in themselves. The clergy of all denominations are elected by their congregations; they are maintained by them during their incumbency: they may, in most cases, like those of the dissenting congregations in the British islands, be dismissed by them at pleasure.* A strong religious feeling pervades the United States, especially New England and Pennsylvania, which has descended to them from their Puritan or Quaker ancestors: the clergy have no political influence, and never intermeddle with temporal affairs. But in no country in the world have they a stronger sway in society, or are their opinions more attended to, especially by the female portion of their congregations. It is to this general influence of religion, and the unseen chain which it has thrown over the passions and vices of men, more, perhaps, than any other cause, that the existence of society for so considerable a period as sixty years, without any considerable convulsions, notwithstanding the almost entire absence of external restraint or efficient government, is to be ascribed.²

But the difficulties of the American church are yet to

* The Episcopalian clergy have in some states a life tenure, which the law supports.

come; and with the increase of its destitute population, and of the classes which subsist on wages alone, the impossibility of providing by voluntary contribution for the maintenance of religion will become very apparent. No want of religious instruction is felt in the great commercial towns, but in the rural districts the case is often directly the reverse;* and although the proportion of proprietors has hitherto been so great, no less than five millions of persons† already exist in the United States, for whom there is no provision in any place of endowed or existing public worship whatever.‡ If this is the case in their infancy, what will it be in their maturity and old age? And how are funds to be raised to provide for the deficiency in a democratic worldly community, which starves down all its public establishments to the lowest point, and where no legislator ever yet has ventured to hint, in congress, at a general direct tax?¹§ If nothing

¹ Tocq. ii.
224, 236.
Chev. ii. 284.
Buckingham, ii. 231,
284.

* “The Baptist sect alone proclaims a want of above three thousand ministers to supply the existing churches. Churches and funds are sufficient, but men are wanting.”—MARTINEAU, iii. 272, 273. This is the precise point where the question hinges, and the difficulty *always* occurs: it is comparatively easy, under the influence of temporary excitement or philanthropic feeling, to *build* churches, at least in great towns; to *maintain* their ministers in decent competence from voluntary sources is a very different matter.

† The American Board of Education makes the following statement, March 8, 1844:—“A vast population exists in these United States, for whom no means of grace whatever are provided. The most accurate examination would fix the number at not less than five millions! Among this mass of perishing immortal beings, at our very doors, error in its countless forms,—Popery, infidelity, and delusions wilder than the fanatical dreams of Mahommed, are making fearful havoc of souls. Indeed, the whole number of nominal professors of religion, in all the evangelical denominations in the land, does not much exceed two millions, while our population numbers eighteen millions.”

‡ “According to a general summary of religious denominations, made in 1835, the number of churches was 15,477; but there were only 12,130 ministers.”—MARTINEAU, iii. 272. This is about one church to each thousand inhabitants, and one minister to each thirteen hundred: the population being at that period about 15,000,000. This, on an average, might seem to be a fair proportion; but the evil of the system lies in two points. 1. The churches are unequally distributed: abounding sometimes to profusion in the rich towns, and wholly wanting in the rural districts. 2. No provision exists for the *permanent maintenance* of the clergy, which is the real difficulty; and accordingly, in the Baptist persuasion alone, 3000 churches are already without ministers.—See last note, and MARTINEAU, iii. 273.

The following statement of the religious population of the United States is said by the *Rochester Democrat* to be derived from various sources, several of which are authentic:—

Baptists,	-	4,000,000	Dutch Reformed,	-	450,000
Methodists,	-	3,000,000	Friends,	-	220,000
Presbyterians,	-	2,175,000	Unitarians,	-	180,000
Congregationalists,	-	1,400,000	Dunkers,	-	30,000
Roman Catholics,	-	1,300,000	Mormonites,	-	19,000
Episcopalians,	-	1,000,000	Shakers,	-	6,000
Universalists,	-	600,000	Moravians,	-	5,000
Lutherans,	-	540,000	Swedenborgians,	-	6,000

§ There are small direct taxes in some of the separate states, and in New

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else existed to subject America to the common lot of humanity, the seeds of its mortal distemper are to be found in the want of any provision for the *gratuitous* religious instruction of the poor over the whole commonwealth: the very circumstance which, with the admirers of their institutions, is the most ceaseless subject of eulogy.

58.
Ruinous
effects of the
dependence
of the clergy
on their
flocks.

Already the ruinous effect of this dependence of the ministers of all denominations on the voluntary support of their flocks, has become painfully conspicuous. Religion has descended from its function of correcting the national vices and boldly denouncing the national sins in the ruling power: it has become little more, with a few noble exceptions, of whom Channing is an illustrious example, than the re-echo of public opinion. Listen to the words of an able and candid eyewitness, herself a most strenuous advocate for the voluntary system. "The American clergy," says Miss Martineau, "are the most backward and timid class in the society in which they live; self-exiled from the great moral questions of the time; the least informed with true knowledge; the least conscious of that Christian and republican freedom which, as the natural atmosphere of piety and holiness, it is their prime duty to cherish and diffuse. The proximate causes of this are obvious: it is not merely that the living of the clergy depends on the opinion of those whom they serve; to all but the far and clear-sighted it appears that the usefulness of their function does so. The most guilty class of the community on the slavery question at present, is not the slaveholding, nor even the mercantile, but the clerical. They shrink from the perils of the contest. It will not be for them to march in the noble army of martyrs. Yet, if the clergy of America follow in the rear of society, they will be the first to glory in the re-formations which they have done the utmost to retard. The fearful and disgraceful mistake which occasions this, is the supposition that the clerical office consists in adapting the truth to the minds of their hearers; and this is already producing its effect in thinning the churches, and impelling the people to find an administration of religion

York 600,000 dollars (£160,000) is yearly raised in this way. But there is no general direct tax whatever over the whole Union.

better suited to their need. My final impression is, that religion is best administered in America by the personal character of the most virtuous members of society, out of the theological; and next by the acts and preachings of the members of that profession, who are the most secular in their habits of life. The exclusively clerical are the worst enemies of Christianity, except the vicious." Such is the fruit of the voluntary system, according to the testimony of its most ardent supporters. An English historian need not fear to express this opinion, for he will see ample evidence around him of a similar tendency among the dissenting clergy in his own country. They are sufficiently inclined, indeed, to withstand the influence and denounce the vices of the government of the established church; but are they equally active in denouncing the sins that most easily beset their own popular supporters? ¹ *

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¹ Martineau's
America, iii
278, 283, 293.
Buckingham,
i. 134, 148.

Here, then, is a country in which, if they ever had such on earth, republican principles have enjoyed the fairest ground for trial, and the best opportunity for establishing their benefits. The land was boundless, and, in the interior at least, of unexampled fertility; the nation began its career with all the advantages and powers, and none of the evils, and scarce any of the burdens, of civilisation. They had the inheritance of English laws, customs, and descent; of the Christian religion, of European arts, and all the stores of ancient knowledge; they had neither a territorial aristocracy, nor a sovereign on the throne, nor a hereditary nobility, nor a national debt,

59.
How has this
democracy
worked?

* At a general conference of the clergy of Georgia, held at Athens on December 30, 1837; it was resolved:—

"I. That it is the sense of the Georgia Annual Conference, that slavery, as it exists in the United States, is *not a moral evil*.

"Resolved, that we view slavery as a civil and domestic institution, and one with which, as ministers of Christ, we have *nothing to do*, further than to ameliorate the condition of the slave, by endeavouring to impart to him and his master the benign influence of the religion of Christ, and aiding both in their way to heaven."—*New York Evening Post*, January 5, 1838.

Contrast this with the gradual extinction of slavery in the chief states of Europe by the unceasing efforts and exhortations of the Christian clergy, and say whether religion has not descended from her pedestal when she ceased to rest on independent revenues.

"What is most surprising of all, a large number of the clergy, and especially those of the Episcopal Church, including those who call themselves evangelical, are not merely palliators of this state of slavery, but advocates for its continuance, and deprecators of all public discussion on the subject; so that, if the republicans understand civil and political liberty but imperfectly, the Christian professors seem to understand the liberty of religion and justice still less."—BUCKINGHAM'S *America*, i. 79, 87.

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nor an established church, which are usually held out as the impediments to the advancement of freedom in the Old World. How then, has the republican system worked in this, the garden of the world, and the land of promise? The answer shall be given on no mean authority; in the words of one, himself an ardent, though candid, supporter of democratic equality, and whose political writings, alone of any in this age, deserve a place beside the works of Bacon and Machiavel.

60.
Irresistible
power of the
majority.

“The self-government and all-powerful sway of the majority,” says M. de Tocqueville, “is the greatest and most formidable evil in the United States. The reproach to which I conceive a democratic government, such as is there established, is open, is not, as many in Europe pretend, its weakness; it is, on the contrary, its irresistible strength. What I feel repugnance to in America, is not the extreme liberty which reigns in it, but the slender guarantee which is to be found against tyranny. When a man, or a party, suffers from injustice springing from the majority in the United States, to whom can he apply for redress? To public opinion? It is formed by the majority. To the legislative body? It represents the majority, and blindly obeys its mandates. To the executive? It is named by the majority, and is the passive instrument in its hands. To the public force? It is nothing but the majority under arms. To a jury? It is the judicial committee of the majority. To the judges? They are in some states elected by the majority, and hold their offices at their pleasure. How unjust and unreasonable soever may be the measure which strikes you, no redress is practicable, and you must submit.”¹ “Liberty of thought and opinion,” says Miss Martineau, “is strenuously maintained in words in America; it has become almost a wearisome declamation; but it is a sad and deplorable fact, that in no country on earth is the mind more fettered than it is here; what is called public opinion has set up a despotism such as exists nowhere else—public opinion, sitting in the dark, wrapt up in mystification and vague terrors of obscurity, deriving power no one knows from whom; like an Asiatic monarch, unapproachable, unimpeachable, undethronable, perhaps illegitimate; but irresistible in its power to quell thought,

¹ Tocq. ii.
145, 146.

repress action, and silence conviction ; bringing the timid perpetually under the unworthy fear of man—fear of some superior opinion which rules the popular breath for a day, and controls, through impudent folly, the speech and actions of the wise.” “This country,” says Jefferson, “which has given the world the example of physical liberty, owes it that of moral emancipation also ; for as yet it is but nominal with us. The inquisition of public opinion overwhelms in practice the freedom asserted by the laws in theory.”¹

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¹ Sober
Thoughts on
the Times,
Boston, 1833.
Martineau,
ii. 69, 70.
Jefferson's
Works, ii.
321.

Original thought, independence of character, intrepid assertion of opinion against the prepossessions of the majority, are, generally speaking, unknown in America. This is admitted by their own ablest and best informed writers.* So completely do their ideas flow in one channel, that you would say they are all cast in one mould, and stamped with one image and superscription. Party spirit, indeed, runs extremely high ; the public press abounds with furious and often coarse invective, and the most vehement division of opinion often agitates the whole Union. But in neither of these vast arrays is there any originality or stubborn independence of thought in individuals ; all follow implicitly, like the well-disciplined forces of a parliamentary leader in England, the opinions of their separate parties. It is a mere struggle of numbers for the superiority, and the moment the contest is decided by a vote, the minority give way, and public opinion ranges itself, to appearance, universally on the side of the greater number. It may well be believed that this unanimity is *seeming* only ; and that the beaten party do not really become converted to the opinions of their antagonists. But they are compelled to fain acquiescence ; they must crouch to numbers. That noblest of spectacles, which is so often exhibited in England, of a resolute minority, strong in the conviction and intrepid in the assertion of truth, firmly maintaining its opinions in

61.

Total absence
of originality
or independ-
ence of
thought.

* “Manliness of character is more likely to be the concomitant of aristocratic than of democratic birth ; for the first feel themselves above public opinion, but the last bow to it as the slave to his master. I have learned in America to feel the truth of a maxim which is becoming familiar amongst us, that it takes an aristocrat to play the true democrat. All the real manly democrats I have ever known in America have been accused of aristocracy, simply because they were disposed to carry out their principles, and not let that imperious sovereign, the neighbourhood, play the tyrant over them.”—COOPER, in *Lucy Hardinge*, ii. 82.

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¹ Tocq. ii.
156, 157.
Chev. i. 306,
307. Mart.
iii. 8; and ii.
26, 58, and
150.

62.
Test of real
freedom of
thought.

the midst of the insurgent waves of an overwhelming majority, is scarcely ever seen on the other side of the Atlantic. They feel sufficiently often the "*civium ardor prava jubentium*;" but the "*justum et tenacem propositi virum*" is unknown. The reason is obvious: society in America is governed only by one element. Individual resolution is not wanting, but it has no ground to rest on against the ruling and irresistible majority; it is as impossible to escape being carried away by the tide, as for a dismasted ship in a bottomless ocean to avoid being swept on by the waves.¹

The Americans will exclaim that this statement is overcharged, and that independence of opinion is to be found as much in America as in Great Britain, or any European state. The matter may be brought to a very easy test, which will both illustrate the fact and the causes to which the difference, in this respect, between Great Britain and America, is owing. All the world knows that the greatest diversity of opinion upon different subjects exists in Great Britain, and it is a matter of every day occurrence to see persons belonging to the aristocratic party, and boldly maintaining Conservative opinions, appear on the hustings and solicit the votes of the most democratic constituencies. It is not less usual for members both of the House of Lords and House of Commons to advocate extreme radical and democratic opinions in presence of a vast majority of persons supporting the aristocratic side. Nay, examples have not been wanting of officers of high rank in the army and navy, who of course are entirely dependent on the crown for their promotion, or even for remaining in the service, giving free vent to the most violent liberal opinions. A large part of the public press of Great Britain avowedly supports republican principles; and not a few of its writers, and that, too, of the highest talent, advocate the same doctrines, both at public meetings and in their literary productions. Is a similar state of things ever seen on the other side of the Atlantic? Is it as usual there to see candidates for popular favour at public meetings maintain monarchical and aristocratic opinions, as in Great Britain it is to see them support republican ones? Does the Hall of Congress resound with opinions

in favour of a mixed monarchy, in preference to a republic, in like manner as the English House of Commons does with arguments in favour of democratic institutions? Does a large part of the public press and periodical literature of America constantly advocate the substitution of a mixed monarchy for their institutions, in the same manner as it does in England the conversion of the government into a pure democracy? We have never heard that any of these things take place. On the contrary, it is well known that the advocates for monarchical institutions, and they are both numerous and able in America, are as guarded in expressing their opinions in public as are those in Russia who are impressed with republican ideas. The reason is the same in both cases. Power resides in one class only, and therefore the other classes cannot enjoy any practical freedom in discussion, and unfettered opinion cannot exist. Let the Americans, in their public debates, philosophical works, and periodical literature, evince the same variety and independence of opinion on political subjects which are every day put forth in England, and they will obtain credit in Europe for possessing real freedom in public deliberation and as regards independence of thought, but not till then.¹

¹ Buckingham's America, i. 462, 463.

All the restraints on the excessive power of the majority, devised by the wisdom of Washington and the original framers of the American constitution, have been shattered by two causes; the equal division of landed property by succession, and the growing democratic ambition of the people. Under the equal law of succession established at the declaration of Independence, the death of every proprietor brings about a splitting of his inheritance into little portions; and when their owners in their turn are carried to the great charnel-house of mortality, a similar division takes place; so that the partition goes on *ad infinitum*. Such has been the effect of this system, that it is extremely rare for any considerable fortune to survive the second generation; and the grandchildren of those who were first in wealth and station in the days of Washington, are now lost in the obscurity of the general crowd, and are even, in many cases, labouring with their own hands. There are thus few rich persons in America, and no hereditary fortunes, but an immense number of little proprietors;

63.
Prodigious effects of the revolutionary law of succession.

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¹ Tocq. i. 82,
85, 87.
Chev. ii. 345,
354. Mart.
i. 151, 152.

and in the states beyond the Alleghanies in particular, their number is prodigious, and hourly increasing. These small landholders, as is invariably the case, are strongly attached to the democratic party. They are the great supporters of the violent outcry which has been raised in every part of the Union, with such fatal effects, against the paper credit and the commercial aristocracy. Such is the ascendant they have now gained, both in the separate states and the general legislature of the Union, from the continual multiplication of these small properties, under the law of equal succession, which is every where established, that all bulwarks have been swept away, the march of democracy has become irresistible, and for good or for evil, the whole confederacy must go through with its consequences. But equality must have one of two results: all must have power, or none. Hitherto the first effect has taken place in America: let them beware of the last.¹

64.
Spoliation of
the commer-
cial classes
already
effected.

As a natural consequence of this state of things, there is in opposition to the will or passions of the majority no lasting security either for life or property in America, in cases where the public mind is vehemently excited. Hitherto, indeed, no direct attack on property has been made, at least where it is vested in land, for this simple reason, that the majority are themselves landowners, and therefore any such system would be an attack upon their own interests. But the system of spoliating that species of property in which the majority do not participate, and for which they feel no sympathy, has already been carried to a most frightful extent. The run against paper credit, the fury against the commercial aristocracy, the cry "bank or no bank," which has convulsed all the states of the Union for the last ten years, and at last ruined the national bank, rendered bankrupt nine-tenths of the commercial classes, and reduced the national exports and imports to one-half,* and in some years to a *third* of their

* Exports from Great Britain to America in 1835,				£10,568,455
—	—	—	1836,	12,425,604
—	—	—	1837,	4,695,225
—	—	—	1838,	7,585,760
—	—	—	1839,	8,839,204
—	—	—	1840,	5,283,020
—	—	—	1841,	7,098,842
—	—	—	1842,	3,528,807

—*Parl. Papers*, 27th May 1840; and 20th July 1843.

former amount, are nothing but so many successful attacks of the Revolutionary majority on that species of property which, being vested solely in the wealthy classes of society of whom they were jealous, it had become the object of the democracy to destroy. The determination now openly acted on in many of the states, particularly Arkansas, Illinois, and the democratic communities in the valley of the Mississippi, and even in the great and opulent commercial state of Pennsylvania, to repudiate their state debt, and shake off the burden of their public creditors, after they have experienced the full benefit of their capital by expending it on railroads, canals, and other public improvements, is another example of the incipient spoliation of the fundholders. The period when the attack on landed property, if the present system of government continues, will commence, may be predicted with certainty; it will be as soon as the majority of electors, in any of the states, have come, from the natural growth of other trades, to be persons without any interest in the soil, and when the back settlements have become so distant by the advance of civilisation, that it is less trouble to take their neighbours' fields than to go to the Far West and seek possessions of their own. This is nothing peculiar to America; in every country in the world the majority, under similar circumstances and political institutions, would do the same.¹

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Is life secure in the United States, when property is placed in such imminent peril? Experience, terrible experience, proves the reverse; and demonstrates that not only is existence endangered, but law is often powerless against the once-excited passions or violence of the people. The atrocities of the French Revolution, cruel and heart-rending as they were, have been exceeded on the other side of the Atlantic; for there the terrible spectacle has been frequently exhibited of late years, of persons obnoxious to the majority being publicly *burned alive* by the people, and, to render the torment more prolonged and excruciating, over a fire purposely kindled of green wood.* Combined and systematic

¹ Chev. i.
153. Tocq.
ii. 284, 287.

65.
Insecurity of
life and order
in America.

* "Some months before I left the United States, a man of colour was *burned alive* without trial, at St Louis in Missouri; a large assembly of the 'respec-

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1814.

¹ Chev. ii.
345. Mart.
iii. 162.

attacks on property, or dreadful acts of terror and revenge, have taken place in several great towns; and such has been the prostration of law and paralysis of authority by the will of the sovereign multitude, that, on many of these occasions, not only the press did not venture to denounce the infamous proceedings, but the law authorities did not make any attempt to apprehend or punish the delinquents.*¹

table' inhabitants of the city being present. The majority of newspaper editors made themselves parties to the act, by refusing through fear to reprobate it. The gentlemen of the press in that city dare not condemn the deed, for fear of the consequences from the murderers. They merely announced the deed as a thing to be regretted; and recommended that a veil should be drawn over the affair. The newspapers of the Union generally were afraid to comment on it, because they saw the St Louis editors were afraid."—MISS MARTINEAU, i. 150, 152.

"Just before I reached Mobile, two men were *burned alive there in a slow fire* in the open air, in presence of the gentlemen of the city generally. No word was breathed of the transaction in the newspapers; and this is a special sign of the times. There is far too much subservience to opinion in the northern states; but in the southern it is like the terrors of Tiberius Cæsar."—*Ibid.* ii. 141, 144.

"Upon a mere vague report or bare suspicion, persons travelling in the south have been arrested, imprisoned, and in some cases *flogged or tortured*, on pretence that they came to cause insurrection among the slaves. More than one *innocent person has been hanged*. It was declared by some liberal-minded gentlemen of South Carolina, after the publication of Dr Channing's work on slavery, that if he were to enter that province with a body-guard of twenty thousand men, he would not come out alive. Handbills are issued by the committees of vigilance, offering enormous rewards for the heads or ears of prominent abolitionists. The governor of South Carolina last year recommended the summary execution, without benefit of clergy, of all persons caught within the limits of the state holding prominent anti-slavery opinions; and every sentiment of his is indorsed by a select committee of the state legislature."—*Ibid.* ii. 348, 349.

"On the 14th June 1842, a black slave named Joseph was seized, on the *suspicion* of being concerned in some murders, by a furious mob, without any trial, which bound him to a tree and kindled a fire of fagots at his feet. He asked for a drink of water, and said, 'Now apply your torches, and let me die in peace.' He beheld with firmness the curling flame approaching his feet; but when it began to fasten on his legs, and feed on his body, the pain was so excessive, that he screamed aloud, and entreated the bystanders to blow out his brains. Not a hand, however, was raised in mercy to terminate his sufferings; and at length, surging with almost superhuman strength in the excess of his agony, he tore out the staples and leapt with his half-burnt limbs out of the flames. The crack of rifles was then heard: he fell pierced by several shots, and his body was thrown back into the pile, where it was totally consumed. *No notice whatever was taken of this atrocity*; the papers did not venture to condemn it; and no one was punished, nor inquiry ever made."—*American Paper, New Orleans, June 15, 1845.*

"A young man at Natchville, in Tennessee, was lately seized by the committee of vigilance, and an abolition newspaper found in his bundle, among a number of Bibles. He was immediately seized, publicly flogged, the mayor of the town presiding, and sent out of the town in that dreadful condition; his horse, gig, and Bibles, of which he was disposing, worth three hundred dollars, being no more heard of."—MISS MARTINEAU, ii. 139, 140.

* "Baltimore was lately, during four days, at the mercy of the genius of destruction. The security of the city was vainly banded from the mayor to the sheriff, from the sheriff to the commander of the militia; the prisons were forced, the mayor and militia pillaged; but not a person could be found in that city, with 100,000 inhabitants, who would head any force against the rioters, till an old patriarch of eighty-four, who had signed the declaration of indepen-

Murders and assassinations in open day are not unfrequent among the members of Congress themselves ; and the guilty parties, if strong in the support of the majority, openly walk about, and set all attempts to prosecute them at defiance. So common have these summary acts of savage violence grown in America, that they have come to be designated by a peculiar and well-known expression ; and the phrase "Lynch law" is understood, all over the world, to express the violent assumption by the multitude of the office, on a sudden impulse, at once of accusers, judges, juries, and executioners. The ablest and best informed political writers on the popular side in Europe, confess and lament this prostration of law and justice in the United States.* "Is this the freedom we were promised?" said the French Revolutionists ; "we can no longer hang whom we please : " but the Americans have improved on this idea, for their principle is, they may either hang *or burn* whom they please.^{1†}

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66.

Frequent
acts of violence in the
legislature.¹ Chev. ii.
345, 347.
Mart. i. 162.

dence, stepped forth, and requesting to be put at the head of thirty men, stopped the disorder, and put an end to the pillage. Well may the Americans say with Mr Clay, 'We are in the midst of a revolution.'—CHEVALIER, ii. 347, 348.

* Depuis que l'Amerique compte de très grandes villes, le peuple des places publiques s'est sous le peuple souverain. Ses insurrections, ses actes de violence ont été frequens dans les dernières années, et chacun d'eux a été outrageant pour la vraie liberté ! Un jour le peuple se souleve, pour punir ceux qui par humanité, ou par religion, veulent voir dans les nègres des hommes ; un autre jour il détruit une maison d'éducation Catholique ; un troisième il chasse de la chaire et veut mettre en pièces un predicateur Protestant, parcequ'il parle contre les Catholiques ; un quatrième il brise les pièces d'un journaliste qui combat quelque opinion dominante ; et toujours et partout il pretend se faire justice à lui-même en soustrayant ceux qu'il accuse à la protection, comme à la jurisdiction, des tribunaux."—SISMONDI, *Sciences Sociales*, i. 304, 305.

† "The longer we remained in Washington, the more we saw and heard of the recklessness and profligacy which characterise the manners both of its resident and fluctuating population. In addition to the fact of all the parties to the late duel going at large, and being unaccountable to any tribunal of law for their conduct in that transaction—of itself a sufficient proof of the laxity of morals, and the weakness of magisterial power—it was matter of notoriety that a resident of the city, who kept a boarding-house, and who entertained a strong feeling of resentment towards Mr Wise, one of the members for Virginia, went constantly armed with loaded pistols and a long bowie knife, watching his opportunity to assassinate him. He had been foiled in the attempt on two or three occasions by finding this gentleman armed also, and generally accompanied by his friends ; but though the magistrates of the city were warned of this intended assassination, they were either afraid to apprehend the individual, or, from some other motive, declined or neglected to do so, and he accordingly walked abroad armed as usual.

"Mr Wise himself, as well as many others of the members from the South and West, go *habitually armed into the House of Representatives and Senate*—concealed pistols and dirks being the usual instruments worn by them beneath their clothes. On his recent examination before a committee of the House, he was asked by the chairman of the committee whether he had arms on his person or not : and answering that he always carried them, he was requested to give them up while the committee were sitting, which he did ; but on their rising he

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67.

Peculiarity of
the American
cruelties in
this respect.

The American writers plead, in extenuation of these atrocities, that they are only of occasional occurrence: that the states of their confederacy are in general peaceable and orderly: that the annals of every country exhibit too many examples of occasional outbreaks of popular violence: and that it is unjust to hold their institutions responsible for acts common to them with all mankind. There is some justice in these obser-

was presented with his arms, and he continued constantly to wear them as before."—BUCKINGHAM'S (a liberal writer) *America*, i. 356, 357.

"We published on Monday a short paragraph stating that a Mr Anthony, a member of the Arkansas Legislature, had been killed in a rencontre with Colonel Wilson, the Speaker of the Lower House. It appears from the particulars since received, that this murderous outrage was actually *committed on the floor of the House while in Session*; the Speaker, in consequence of some offensive remark directed against him by the unfortunate member, having come down from his seat armed with a bowie knife! The member, it is stated, was also armed with the same weapon, but the rencontre lasted only for a moment—the latter having been left dead on the floor, and the Speaker having had one hand nearly cut off, and the other severely injured. Wilson was forthwith arrested by the civil authorities, and his name struck from the roll of the House by *nearly* a unanimous vote. He was liberated on 2000 dollars' bail, and subsequently *acquitted*."—*New York Sun*, Dec. 29, 1837. BUCKINGHAM, i. 136.

"A tragical occurrence took place during my stay in New York, which brought this question very prominently before the public. It was this: a minister of the gospel, the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, was engaged as the editor of a religious newspaper at the town of St Louis, and in the slave state of Missouri. In this state, the mob had burned a coloured man alive for some offence for which he was never brought to trial. Mr Lovejoy condemned this act, and reprobated the judge, whose name was Lawless, for excusing the mob as he had done for their unjustifiable conduct. In consequence of this, the mob themselves retaliated on Mr Lovejoy, by attacking his house, breaking up his press, and throwing it and the types into the river, for which he could get no redress. He then removed to the town of Alton, on the opposite side of the Mississippi river, and in the free state of Illinois. Even here, however, his advocacy of abolition occasioned the mob to destroy his press a second time; another was procured to replace that, and they broke it in pieces also. A third press was purchased to replace this, but when it arrived at Alton, and before ever it was used, the mob attacked the store in which it was, with a view to destroy it, and whatever else the store contained. They were encouraged in this outrage by the more wealthy inhabitants of the place, who fancied they had an interest in slavery being undisturbed; but on this occasion Mr Lovejoy and his friends determined to defend the store, and went with fire-arms for this purpose. While the mob were beating in the windows with stones, and firing from the outside into the store, they who were in the inside fired a gun also, by which one of the mob was killed. At this the populace at first dispersed, but whisky being profusely supplied to them by their abettors, and guns placed in their hands, they returned in larger numbers to the store, determined to set it on fire, and burn alive all who were in it. Mr Lovejoy and four of his companions went out to drive away those who were actually setting fire to the roof of the building, and he was then *shot through the body by one of the mob, and died in a few minutes afterwards*. They subsequently wounded several others, took possession of the press, broke it to pieces, and threw its fragments into the river. On such a transaction as this, it might be supposed that there would be scarcely a difference of opinion, or that the whole press of the country, in the free states at least, would have condemned such an outrage, and contended for the right of freedom of discussion. But by far the greater majority of the Whig papers, and some even of the Democratic in New York and elsewhere, condemned the pertinacity and obstinacy, as they called it, of Mr Lovejoy, excused the conduct of the mob, and thought that *any man venturing to publish sentiments which he knew to be obnoxious to the majority, deserved to be put down by force*."—BUCKINGHAM, i. 80, 81.

vations, although it affords but a melancholy proof of the depravity of human nature, if the spread of knowledge and march of intellect have no tendency to check these savage dispositions, and the citizens of the great and well-educated model republic are obliged to plead, in extenuation of their cruelties, that the same things were done during the crusade against the Albigeois, or by the *autos-da-fé* of Castile. But the peculiar and damning blot on America, in this particular, is this, and it is one to which it is impossible to make any reply. In other countries, the frightful atrocities of the stake and the torture have characterised government during savage and ruthless periods, and it has been the well-founded boast of civilisation, that they have disappeared before the milder spirit which its blessings have introduced. Ebullitions of popular violence have been frequent; horrors unutterable have been committed, and are committed, during their continuance. But these have always been the passing fury of the multitude merely, and the return of order has uniformly been signalised by increased vigour of the executive for the repression of such excesses, and increased horror of the public at their continuance. It was thus that the Reign of Terror, in France, was succeeded by the iron rule of Napoleon—the violence of the great rebellion in England by the despotism of Cromwell. But in America, not only is there no reaction against such popular atrocities, or attempt to coerce them, but the human mind is so debased by the tyranny of the majority, that they are not even complained of: they are exhibited, not in an age of universal ignorance and savage barbarity, but in one of general instruction and boasted civilisation; the people are not the victims but the authors of these atrocities, and the reflecting few pass them over in trembling silence, like the stroke of Providence, or the vengeance of an eastern Sultaun, to which it is the only wisdom to submit without a murmur.¹ *

¹ Mart. ii.
177, 178.
Chev. ii. 347,
348.

* “On occasion of the frightful riot at Faneuil Hall, Boston, in 1835, when the celebrated Mr Garrison narrowly escaped being murdered, *no prosecutions followed*. I asked a lawyer, an abolitionist, why? He said there would be difficulty in getting a verdict, and if it was obtained, the punishment would be merely a fine, which would be paid on the spot, and the triumph would remain with the aggressors. I asked an eminent judge the same question; he said *he had given his advice against a prosecution*. And why? Public feeling was so

CHAP.
XC.
1814.
68.
Real re-
proach of the
Americans
on this head.

It can never be sufficiently enforced that it is not the deeds of violence, cruel and frightful as they have been, of which their country has in recent times been the theatre, which constitute the real and peculiar reproach against the American character and institutions. Deeds of atrocity are common to them with all mankind. It is the irresistible weight of popular opinion which renders their condemnation rare, their punishment still rarer, if committed in the interest or in pursuance of the passions of the majority, which is the real disgrace. The American writers ask, What would the English say if their monarchical institutions were assailed because the Porteous mob, a century ago, took summary vengeance on an unpopular functionary on the streets of Edinburgh, or because the Reform transports terminated in the flames of Bristol and Nottingham, in 1831? The answer is obvious. They at once admit that these deeds were a disgrace to the country; they make no attempt to palliate or defend them; and they are the first to confess, that if such acts were to become frequent, and pass unpunished, they would cast an irremoveable stain on the British character, and throw a serious doubt on the wisdom of British institutions. But Edinburgh was severely punished for the Porteous mob, though the immediate authors could not be discovered; and four of the principal Bristol delinquents expiated their guilt on the scaffold. A hideous combination murder, interesting ten thousand combined workmen, occurred at Glasgow in 1840; but the murderers were hung on the spot where the crime had been committed, in presence of a hundred thousand spectators.* Let the Americans show instances in which the perpetrators of their Lynch murders, or the leaders of the mobs who burned their negroes, were executed where their

strong on the subject; the rioters were so respectable in the city: it was better to let the whole affair pass over without further notice."—MARTINEAU, i. 175, 176. Many examples of a similar paralysis occurred in Great Britain during the fervour of reform; and the arm of the law was sometimes, as in the Newport rebellion, paralysed by terror of the people; but generally the majesty of the law was asserted, and severe examples in the case of the greatest outrages were made, especially in the cases of the burning of Bristol and Nottingham in 1831 and 1832.

* It was the author's melancholy duty to carry into execution, as sheriff of Lanarkshire, this just and necessary sentence; and he never felt so strongly the prodigious effect of such solemn demonstrations that a government exists in the country.

flames had been lighted, in presence of an approving majority, and the British historians will be the first to clear the American institutions from the charge of impotence against popular excesses, under which they at present labour.

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The system of government in the United States has been proved to be wholly unequal to the external security of the nation. America, it is true, is still independent, and is rapidly extending in every direction; but that is only because she has no civilised neighbours in contact with her territory except Great Britain, which has little interest to engage in the fruitless and enormous costs of Transatlantic warfare. But so inefficient is her force both by sea and land, owing to the invincible repugnance to taxation among her people, and the total want of foresight among the ruling multitude, that she rushed headlong into a war with Great Britain in 1812, with an army of six thousand men and a navy of four frigates and eight sloops; and she could not prevent her capital being taken by an English division not mustering three thousand five hundred bayonets. Baden or Würtemberg would never have incurred a similar disgrace. If America were placed alongside of the European powers, she would be conquered in three months if she did not alter her system of government. In 1840, she was all but at open war with Great Britain, and yet her army was only twelve thousand men, and her navy seven ships of the line, with a population of seventeen millions; being just the population of the British Isles at the close of the war with Napoleon.

69.
External
weakness of
the Ameri-
cans.

True, these four frigates and eight sloops in 1812 did great things, and their crews evinced a valour and skill worthy of combating their ancient parent on the waves. But that only confirms the general argument. In democratic communities, measures of foresight are impossible to government, because the masses of whom it is the organ are incapable of looking before them, and never will submit to present burdens from a regard to future and remote dangers. Hence, while Philip was preparing his armament against Greece, which ultimately proved fatal to its independence, the Athenian democracy

70.
Want of
foresight in
the ruling
majority is
the cause of
this.

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diverted the funds set apart for the support of the navy to the maintenance of the theatres; and introduced and carried the punishment of *death* against any one who should propose even their reapplication to their original destination. But energy unbounded is awakened in individuals by such institutions, and hence the great achievements which they often have effected with inconsiderable means. In despotic states, greatness is sometimes forced upon the nation by the vigour and foresight of the government, notwithstanding the general lassitude or supineness of the community. In democratic states, greatness is often forced upon the government, despite its own weakness, by the vigour and spirit of the people.

71.
Banishment
of higher
talent or
station from
the public
service.

Ability of the highest kind has been rarely, if ever, called to the direction of affairs in America, since the democratic regime has been fully established by the general triumph of the popular over the Conservative party. Men either of great talents or elevated character are disgusted with the low arts and mob-flattery which are the indispensable passport to popular favour: they retire from all contest for office, as in eastern dynasties similar characters do from the sycophancy of courts and the precincts of palaces. It is extremely rare to see persons of large property who will, for any consideration, engage in public life. They retire into the bosom of their families, and leave open to bustling indigence or pliant ambition the path leading to power, distinction, and political honours. In public, these men profess the most unbounded admiration for popular institutions; they shake hands with every man they meet in the street; they are never to be seen on a platform that they do not utter sonorous periods on the virtue and intelligence of the people, the wisdom which is displayed in all their deliberations, and the incalculable blessings of democratic institutions; in private, they reveal, in confidence to those whom they can trust, and especially to strangers on the eve of departure, their decided conviction that the present system cannot much longer continue, and that a frightful revolution will ere long bury the rising splendour of North, as it has already done that of South America, in its ruins.

The wealthy classes, unable to overcome the jealousy with which they are surrounded, and obnoxious to the people merely because they are independent, and will not in general condescend to court them, have generally given up public life, and abandoned all contest for political power. They have taken refuge in exclusive society, and guard its avenues with a degree of care unknown even in the aristocratic circles of London or Vienna. Externally, they are plain in their dress; few carriages are to be seen in the streets considering the fortunes enjoyed, and the exterior of their dwellings exhibits nothing to attract notice or awaken jealousy. It is in the interior of their mansions that they give a full reign to the luxury of wealth; all that riches can purchase of the elegant or costly is there displayed in profusion. Like the Jews in the days of Richard Cœur de Lion, and from a similar cause, they are homely in external appearance, and gorgeous in interior display. Democracy and aristocracy have an equal aversion to the highest class of intellect, and neither will in general call in its assistance except in the last extremity, and when no other means of salvation remain. The first is jealous of the power of mind, which it is unable to combat; the second of independence of character, which it cannot control. Pliant ability is what both desire.¹

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72.

The rich
have taken
refuge in
exclusive
society.¹ Tocq. ii. 12,
13.

Judicial independence, though in appearance generally established, is in reality almost unknown in America, but integrity of judicial character is, to their honour be it said, universal. All the state judges, from the highest to the lowest, are virtually elected by the people, and are liable to be displaced by them; for they are appointed by the state legislatures, who are themselves nominated by the universal suffrage of the inhabitants. Their tenure of office is sometimes for four, sometimes for seven years; not generally for life.* In appearance, therefore, the independence of the bench is, in a majority of the states of the Union, established on a tolerably secure basis; but

73.

State of
dependence
of the Bench.

* In thirteen states the judges hold office during good behaviour, in eight others during periods of not less than seven years: in some instances these periods are from twelve to fifteen years. In two states they hold office but for one year. In but one instance they are appointed directly by the people, and they can never be removed by the direct action of the people. In thirteen states they are appointed by the legislatures; in twelve by the governors, with the advice of a senate or council. They are removeable only by impeachment, or

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¹ Tocq. ii.
44, 176.
Chev. ii. 151.

the difference, and it is a vital one, lies here. Power in England resides in three branches of the legislature; in America, it is invested solely in one—viz. the people. Judges in Great Britain can be displaced only by the crown, on an address of *both* houses of parliament—a union of the representatives of property and numbers, which can never take place except on a flagrant case of judicial iniquity, or the total prostration of our liberties. In America, they are in all the states liable to be removed by a vote of the two branches of the legislature, both of whom are elected by the people—that is, on the simple declared will of *one interest* in society, namely, the majority in numbers.¹

In several states, their tenure of office expires in six or seven years; in two states, in one.* If their decisions are obnoxious to the feelings, however excited, of the

in some instances by an address of both branches of the legislature, for which usually the votes of two-thirds or three-fourths of the House must concur.—*North American Review*, No. 119, p. 394. The author is happy, on this high authority, to correct an error into which he had fallen, in regard to the appointment of the judges in America, in his former editions; and at the same time express his high sense of the liberal and impartial spirit, as well as distinguished ability, with which his work has been reviewed, and its opinions often combated, in that distinguished periodical.

* The following are the provisions on the subject of judicial tenure, in the different states of the United States:—

	Tenure of Office.	How Removeable during Tenure.	Authority.
I.—MAINE.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Seven years. Do.	} By Governor on address of both Houses of Legislature.	Const. Maine, art. vi. § 4, and ix. 5.
II.—MASSACHUSETTS.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Seven years.	} Governor on address of both Houses.	Massachusetts Const. c. iii. art. 1 and 3.
III.—NEW HAMPSHIRE.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Five years.	} Governor and Council on address of both Houses.	Const. New Hampshire, art. Jud. Pow. § i. 3.
IV.—VERMONT.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Do.	} Governor on address of both Houses.	Const. Vermont, § 24.
V.—RHODE ISLAND.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Do.	} Governor on address of Legislature.	Charter of Charles II. and Const.
VI.—CONNECTICUT.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. One year.	} Do. Do.	Const. Connecticut, art. v. § 3.
VII.—NEW YORK.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. till sixty years. Five years.	} Do. Legislative majority.	Const. New York, art. v. § 1, 3, and 6.
VIII.—NEW JERSEY.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Seven years. Five years.	} Impeachment by Assembly before Council.	Const. New Jersey, § 12.

multitude, they are sure not to be re-elected. The highest talent at the bar rarely, from this cause, condescends

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	Tenure of Office.	How Removeable during Tenure.	Authority.
IX.—PENNSYLVANIA.			
Supreme Court, Justices of Peace,	Fifteen years. Terms of Ten and Five years.	} Governor on address of two-thirds of both Houses.	Const. Pennsylvania, art. v. § 2.
X.—DELAWARE.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Seven years.	} By Governor on address of two-thirds of both Houses.	Const. Delaware, art. vi. § 14, 23.
XI.—MARYLAND.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Do.	} Governor on address of two-thirds of both Houses.	Art. ix. amendment of Const.
XII.—VIRGINIA.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Do.	} Governor on address of two-thirds of both Houses.	Const. Virginia, art. iii. § 12, and v. § 1 and 2.
XIII.—NORTH CAROLINA.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Do.	} Governor on address of two-thirds of Senate.	Const. North Carolina, art. iii. § 1, 2, and 3, Orig. Con.
XIV.—SOUTH CAROLINA.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Do.	} On Impeachment by two-thirds of Senate by address of both Houses.	Const. South Carolina, art. 5, § i.
XV.—GEORGIA.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Three years. Good behaviour.	} Governor on address of two-thirds of both Houses.	Const. Georgia, art. iii. § 1 and 4.
XVI.—KENTUCKY.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Do.	} Governor on address of two-thirds of both Houses.	Const. Kentucky, art. iv. § 3.
XVII.—TENNESSEE.			
Supreme Judges, Inferior Judges,	Twelve years. Eight years.	} By Senate on address of two-thirds of Representatives.	Const. Tennessee, art. vi. § 2, 3, 4.
XVIII.—OHIO.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Seven years. Three years.	} By Senate on address of two-thirds of Representatives.	Const. Ohio, art. iii. § 8, 11.
XIX.—INDIANA.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Seven years. Do.	} By majority of Senate on an impeachment by majority of Representatives.	Const. Indiana, art. iii. § 23, art. v. § 4.
XX.—LOUISIANA.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Do.	} Governor on address of three-fourths of both Houses.	Const. Louisiana, art. iv. § 5.
XXI.—MISSISSIPPI.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Two years. Two years.	} Governor on address of two-thirds of both Houses.	Const. Mississippi, art. iv. § 2, 3, 24, 27.
XXII.—ILLINOIS.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Do.	} Governor on address of two-thirds of both Houses.	Const. Illinois, art. vi. § 5.
XXIII.—ALABAMA.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Do.	} Governor on address of two-thirds of both Houses.	Const. Alabama, art. v. § 13.
XXIV.—MISSOURI.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Do.	} Governor on address of two-thirds of both Houses.	Const. Missouri, art. v. § 13, 16, 17.
XXV.—MICHIGAN.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Seven years. Do.	} Two-thirds of Senate on impeachment by majority of Representatives.	Const. Michigan, art. ii. § 6, and viii. § 2, 3.
XXVI.—ARKANSAS.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Eight years. Two years.	} Two-thirds of Senate on address by majority of Representatives.	Const. Arkansas, art. iv. § 26, 27, and art. vi. § 7, 10.

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74.

Tenure by
which the
judicial office
is held in the
different
states.

to accept judicial situations ; and consequently the ability of the bench is generally unequal to that of the counsel, and their station in life inferior. This appears in the clearest manner from the amount of the salaries paid to these functionaries, which, even in the highest stations, never exceeds £1200, and in the local judicatures even of the greatest states, seldom reaches £500 a-year.* But although these important functionaries hold their offices during the pleasure of a legislature elected by a mere majority of numbers, as was the case in France after the first outbreak of the Revolution, yet no suspicion attaches to their judgments ; and justice is impartially administered, in questions at least between man and man, except perhaps in a very few political cases, on the bench. Democratic jealousy, by the dependence which it exacts, and the scanty remuneration which it offers, may effectually exclude elevated character or shining abilities from public situations ;¹ but by fixing the attention of all on public functionaries.

¹ Tocq. ii.
44, 176, 177.
Chev. ii. 151.
Mart. i. 116.

* Salaries paid to judges supreme and inferior in America :—

		Dollars.	
Chief Justice of Supreme Court,	-	5000	or £1050
Ordinary Judges,	-	4500	.. 900
Chief Judge of New York,	-	3500	.. 700
Second Judge of New York,	-	2000	.. 400
Chief Judge of Pennsylvania,	-	2500	.. 500
.. .. North Carolina,	-	2000	.. 400
.. .. South Carolina,	-	2500	.. 600
.. .. Ohio,	-	1000	.. 200
.. .. Missouri,	-	2000	.. 400

And the others in proportion.—*Stat. Alm.* 1841, p. 64.

Connected with this subject there is a very curious fact, indicative of the opposite effect, yet springing from the same motive at bottom in society, of aristocracy in Europe and democracy in America. It is mentioned by Tocqueville, and the same fact is also attested by Chevalier, that while the greater appointments in America are not paid at so high a rate as a tenth, or sometimes a twentieth part of what the same class of officers in Europe receive, the inferior class of functionaries draw often three, sometimes five times as much as their brethren on this side of the Atlantic. The President of the United States has six thousand a-year, and the highest judge in the republic twelve hundred ; but a common sailor has five pounds a-month, and a sheriff-officer or macer from fifty to a hundred pounds a-year. In Great Britain, the sovereign has two hundred thousand pounds a-year for the privy purse, exclusive of the civil list, which constitutes no part of the royal expenses ; and the highest judges ten or fifteen thousand. But the common sailor has one pound fifteen a-month, besides his allowances and rations, which may amount to as much more, and the doorkeeper or macer would think himself well paid with half of what his brother in America enjoys. Human nature is the same on both sides of the water. Aristocracy in Europe liberally provides for the functionaries who are drawn from its own class, or the splendour with which it sympathises ; democracy in America rewards in the most niggardly manner the elevated class of public servants, with which it feels no identity of interest, and reserves all its liberality for the inferior one, from which it itself expects to derive benefit.—See TOCQUEVILLE, ii. 73. 75 ; CHEVALIER, ii. 151.

it provides the only effectual antidote to official corruption.

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75.

Literature
and the press.

Literary and intellectual ability of the highest class are comparatively rare in America. The names of Cooper, Channing, and Washington Irving, indeed, amply demonstrate that the American soil is not wanting in genius of the most elevated and fascinating character; Bancroft has given a history of the United States distinguished by profound thought, accurate research, and a manly eloquence; and Prescott, in his powerful narratives, has communicated to the romance of Castilian exploit the colours of poetry. But these are the exceptions, not the rule. Such is the concentration of public interest on objects of present, and often passing concern, that neither the future nor the past excite general attention. The classics are in little esteem, except with the very highest class of writers; a certain amount of average education in the dead languages is general, considerable knowledge of them uncommon. Works in the abstruse branches of philosophy or speculation are rare. We have the authority of Tocqueville for the assertion, that so generally are they regardless of historical records or monuments, that half a century hence the national annals, even of these times, could only be written from the archives of other states. Literary talent is, in a great degree, directed to the wants or amusements of the day: it is vehement and impassioned, often in the highest degree able, among them; but in general regardless of other and more durable concerns. The poetry of America is often beautiful: there is nothing more touching in literature, than some of the fugitive pieces of Miss Jewsbury. But, generally speaking, it is descriptive, not reflective: the wide expanse of natural beauty, not the receding recesses of national event, seem to have chiefly struck their imaginations. This peculiarity, however, is not owing to any deficiency in the national taste for the higher branches of literature, but to the fact that England, as the older state, has hitherto in a great degree kept possession of the American market in the productions of thought. The taste for English literature is not only general, but almost universal. The leading popular authors of Great Britain are all published in America, and read with avidity. So numerous are the editions of

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the more celebrated writers of this country which appear on the other side of the Atlantic, that they exceed those published in England itself. This affords a decisive evidence, that if their own writers are chiefly occupied with objects of local or party contention, the taste for a higher class of literature is diffused to a surprising degree through the community.* The Americans say this general taste for foreign literature is inconsistent with a deficiency in native literary talent. They might as well say, that because a vast quantity of French wine is drunk in England, therefore Great Britain has vineyards equal to those of Champagne or Burgundy.

76.
Character of
its legislation.

Legislation, stamped with the same character, is almost entirely engrossed with objects of material, and often only temporary importance. The struggles of interest between contending provinces or classes in society; the formation of railroads, canals, or harbours, for the advantage of particular districts; the establishment of joint-stock companies as a source of individual profit, engross nine-tenths both of the general and local legislation of the United States. The press, which every where abounds, and is diffused to a degree unexampled in any other country, though by no means deficient in ability, is generally distinguished by violence, personalities, and rancour. Its influence is so considerable in guiding the irresistible impulse of public opinion, that it may truly be said to be the ruler of the state, though itself is swayed by the interests and passions of those to whom its productions are addressed. It is well known in the United States, that public services the most important, private character the most immaculate, furnish no protection whatever against its calumnies; and that by a combination among the editors of newspapers, should so unlikely an event occur, the noblest and best citizens of America may at any time be driven into exile.^{1†}

¹ Tocq. ii.
63. 64.

* The author hopes he will not be accused of vanity, if he refers to the success of his own work for a proof of this assertion. "Notwithstanding the repugnance which is felt among us to his misrepresentations of the United States, and the still stronger antipathy to his anti-republican heresies, such are the cravings for historical literature, and the avidity with which it is read, that *fifteen thousand* copies of his own work are already disseminated."—*Note to American edition of this History*, Vol. iv. 445. New York, 1845. HARPER and BROTHERS.

† "It is certain that, for a series of dangerous years, the American Press has become the vehicle of the most atrocious personal calumny, and the most flatulent national self-adulation. Bodies of men, however ignorant and small, have come to consider themselves as integral portions of a community which

In one most important branch of knowledge the Americans have already acquired great and deserved distinction. Their legal writers exhibit a degree of learning, judgment, and penetration, which, honourable to any country, is in the highest degree remarkable in one, the career of which has so recently commenced. The works of Story, Kent, and Greenleaf, are distinguished alike by industry, research, and reflection, arranged in systematic order, and guided by the spirit of extensive and enlightened observation. It is not going too far to assert, that they are superior to any systematic writings of a similar description which England has produced. Nor is it difficult to discern the cause of this remarkable excellence. Every great system of law is the result of experience. The greatest intellect, the most penetrating genius, is unequal to the task, till enlightened by the wisdom learned, the disappointments felt, during many successive ages. The Roman law, the most extraordinary monument of uninspired wisdom which the world has ever seen, slowly grew up from the wisdom of the prætors, largely aided by the experience of other states, during thirty generations. It is the hasty and ill-considered enactments of positive legislation, often dictated by selfishness, directed by impulse, and drawn up in ignorance, which form the greatest, because the most irremediable, obstacles to the formation of a perfect system of jurisprudence.

That England has felt, in its utmost extent, the force of this evil, need be told to none who are acquainted with the gigantic intricacies of its statute-book, or felt the blessing which it would be if nineteen-twentieths of it were by one sweeping enactment consigned to oblivion. The Americans have got quit, by their independence, of the authority of English acts of parliament; while their want of any adequate store of national decisions has compelled them to have recourse to the great masters of English law, for those equitable precedents which the

never errs, and consequently entitled to esteem themselves infallible. When in debt, they have fancied it political liberty to pay their debts with the strong hand. This disease has already passed out of New York into Pennsylvania: it will spread, like any other epidemic, over the whole country, and there will soon be a severe struggle amongst us, between the knave and the honest man. Let the class of the latter look to it; it is to be hoped it is still sufficiently powerful to conquer."—COOPER, *Preface to Lucy Hardinge*, 1844.

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77.

Great eminence of the American legal writers.

78.

Cause of this excellence.

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English judges had mainly adopted from the wisdom and experience of Roman jurisprudence. Thus the American law is based upon the best parts of the laws of Rome and England, and is at the same time in a great degree free of the positive enactments which have constituted the principal difficulty in both. By this means their systematic writers are enabled to follow out principle to its consequences, and exhibit a consistent system of jurisprudence to a degree impossible in an older state, in which the shock of long-contending interests has established numerous points of statute law, irreconcilable either with principle or expedience. The decisions of the American courts are in general unexceptionable in cases between man and man: between man and the prejudices or passions of the despotic majority, the decisions of their courts, constrained by the absolute power of juries deeply impregnated with their feelings, are often of a very different description.

79.
Great extent
of slavery in
the United
States.

Slavery, as all the world knows, exists to a great extent in a large part of the United States. It is in the southern states that this dreadful evil almost exclusively prevails; for although the negro race extends into the northern parts of the union, yet their number is declining in these districts, while it is rapidly increasing in those to the south; and the present comparative rate of increase of the two races justifies the hope, that ere long slavery will be entirely confined to those parts of America which border on the tropics. There, however, it prevails to a prodigious extent, and nearly the whole labour, both field and domestic, is performed by the African race. In the six states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi,* there were

*	Free Whites.		Slaves.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Virginia, . . .	371,223	369,745	228,661	220,326
North Carolina, . . .	240,047	244,823	123,546	122,271
South Carolina, . . .	130,496	128,588	158,678	168,360
Georgia, . . .	210,534	197,161	139,335	141,609
Alabama, . . .	176,692	158,493	127,360	126,172
Mississippi, . . .	97,256	81,818	98,003	97,208
	1,226,248	1,180,628	875,583	875,946

—Census, 1841.

in 1840 no less than 1,751,529 slaves—a vast number, considering that the total free white population of the same districts is only 2,406,876. History has not yet solved the questions, either whether the negro race can ever be induced to labour continuously and effectively without the coercion of a master, or whether the whites are capable of bearing the effect of rural work in hot climates. But the experience, alike of Africa in every age, of St Domingo in the last, and the British West India colonies in the present, seems to lead to the belief that both questions must be resolved in the negative: that the negro constitution possesses an aptitude for bearing the effect of tropical heat to which the European is a stranger; and that the utmost which philanthropy can do for the descendants of Canaan in the New World—of whom it was prophesied that they should be the servants of those of Japhet*—is to mitigate their sufferings, and restrain the severity of their oppression.

The most energetic efforts have been made for a number of years back, by a humane and philanthropic party in the United States, headed by not a few leaders of genius and ability, to produce a general feeling against the farther continuance of slavery in any part of the Union; but although they have succeeded in procuring its abolition in a few states, where the negroes were inconsiderable in number, they have made no sort of impression in those where they are numerous. All the efforts of philanthropy, all the force of eloquence, have been shattered against the obvious interests of a body of proprietors dependent for their existence on slave labour. It is perfectly understood in every part of the Union, that the first serious attempt to force emancipation upon the country by a general measure, will be the signal for an immediate separation of the southern states from the confederation. Superficial observers are never weary of throwing their tenacious retention of slavery in America in the face of the republicans of that country, and proclaiming it as the greatest of all inconsistencies, for those who are so ambitious of maintaining and extending their own

80.
Vehement
resistance
made against
its abolition.

* “God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.”—*Gen.* ix. 27.

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privileges, to deny even common freedom to others who happen to be subject to their power. More profound thinkers have observed, that this democratic principle is itself the main cause of the obstinate retention of the servient race in slavery; that in every country and age of the world, those who are loudest in the assertion of their own privileges are the least inclined to share them with others; that they are extremely willing to level *down* to a certain point, but extremely unwilling to level *up* from below to the same point; and that that point is always to be found in that stratum of society where the majority of the electors is placed. There cannot be a doubt that the observations of Mr Burke on this subject are well founded. The English Reformed House of Commons would never have emancipated the West India negroes, if they had been in the employment of even a part of the electors. Witness the obstinate resistance the democratic members of the legislature make to any restriction on the practical slavery of the factory children.

81.
Manners of
America.

Volumes without number have been written on the manners of the Americans: their exclusive system in society; their national vanity and irritability at censure;—and many of these productions, lively and amusing, are penned in no friendly, and often in no just spirit. The whole subject may be dismissed in a single paragraph. The manners of the Americans are the manners of Great Britain, *minus* the aristocracy, the landowners, the army, and the established church. In New York and Philadelphia, the society of the great merchants is undistinguishable from that of the same rank in the greatest towns of the British Islands: the habits of the American middle class, if a few revolting customs are excepted, will find a parallel in our steam-boats, railway-trains, and stage-coaches. Exclusive society is practised to an extent, and pervades all ranks to a depth, altogether unknown in most European communities, where the distinctions of rank have been long established, are well understood, and not liable to be infringed upon, except by peculiar merit or good fortune.* But that is the necessary result of the

* “ ‘ You can’t imagine,’ said an American girl, the daughter of a milliner, to Miss Martineau, ‘ what a nice set we have at school; we never let any of the

total absence of all hereditary rank, and may be witnessed to nearly the same extent, and from the same causes, in the commercial and manufacturing cities of Great Britain.

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The admiration for rank which is generally felt in America, especially by the fair sex, is excessive; but that is common to them with republicans all the world over. The abolition of titles of honour in democratic communities is the result, not of a contempt, but of an inordinate desire, for such distinctions; they injure, when enjoyed by a few, the self-love of those who do not possess them; and since the majority cannot enjoy that advantage,—for if they could it would cease to be one,—they are resolved that none shall. They are vain on all national subjects, and excessively sensitive to censure, however slight, and most of all to ridicule; but that obtains invariably with those classes or individuals who have not historic descent or great personal achievements or qualities to rest upon, and who, desirous of general applause, have a secret sense that in some particulars they may be undeserving of it. The Americans have already done great things: when they have continued a century longer in the same career, they will, like the English, be a proud, and cease to be a vain people. Vanity, as Bulwer has well remarked, is a passion which feeds on little gratifications, but requires them constantly; pride rests on great things, and is indifferent to momentary applause. The English not only noway resent, but positively enjoy, the ludicrous exhibitions made of their manners on the French stage. Such burlesques would flay the Americans alive. The English recollect that the French learned these peculiarities when the British troops occupied Paris.

82.
Their admiration for rank and titles.

How then has it happened that a country possessing none of the securities against external danger or internal convulsion, which have been elsewhere found to be indispensable, has still gone on increasing and flourishing; extending alike in internal strength and external consideration; and still exhibiting, though with several ominous

83.
How has America escaped its political dangers?

haberdashery daughters associate with us. My informant went on to mention how anxious she and her set of about sixty young people were to visit '*exclusively*' among themselves; 'how delightful it would be to have no *grocers' daughters among them*;' but 'that was found to be impossible.'—MARTINEAU, iii. 33. *Cælum non animum mutat qui trans mare currunt.*

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heaves, an unruffled surface in general society? The solution of this peculiarity is to be found in the circumstance, that the United States have no neighbouring powers either capable of endangering their security, or likely to gain by provoking their hostility; that the majority of the electors, as yet, are owners of land, and therefore have an interest in resisting or preventing spoliation of real property; and that the back settlements furnish a perpetual and ready issue for all their restless activity and discontented energy, to exhaust and enrich itself in pacific warfare with the forest. When these peculiarities have ceased to distinguish them, as cease they must in the progress of things; when the growth of population, and completed appropriation of land, have rendered the class of workmen who live by wages more numerous than those who have property of their own, and the filling up or distance of the frontier settlements has closed that vast outlet to the selfish desires and ill humours of the state,—the political power, now vested in numbers, will inevitably produce a general disruption and chaos of society, attended with consequences as disastrous as those which in our times have desolated the provinces of South America.* This can only be prevented if, as is not improbable, a sense of the approaching danger, or events that cannot now be foreseen, restore to the United States those safeguards against human wickedness which have in all other ages and countries been found to be essential to the existence of society.

In many of the fundamental particulars which distinguish the United States of America from all other countries of the world, the British provinces in CANADA entirely participate. They have the same boundless

* This period, if we may trust the most popular writer in the United States, is not far distant. "Formerly," says Cooper, "the audacious sophism of calling landed property a monopoly, in a country possessing above an hundred acres to each soul, was not broached. Men did not then set themselves up as representatives of the whole community, and interpret the laws in their own favour, as if they were the first principles of the entire republic. A crisis is at hand; and we are about to see the laws triumphant, or acts of aggression that will far outdo all that has hitherto rested on the American name in regard to pecuniary transactions. The signs of the times are ominous as regards real liberty, by substituting in its stead the most fearful of all tyrannies, the spurious, in its place. God alone knows for what we are reserved; but one thing is certain, there must be a movement *backward*, or the nation is lost."—COOPER, *Lucy Hardinge*, iii. 223.

extent of unappropriated territory, in some places rich and fertile, in others sterile and unproductive; the same active and persevering race to subdue it; the same restless spirit of adventure, perpetually urging men into the recesses of the forest in quest of independence; the same spirit of freedom and enterprise; the same advantages arising from the powers of knowledge, the habits of civilisation, the force of credit, the capacities of industry. Their progress in respect of wealth and population, accordingly, has been nearly at the same rate, at least since, in the middle of the last century, they fell under the British dominion, as that of the neighbouring provinces in the United States. Both have regularly gone on, doubling in somewhat less than a quarter of a century—a rate of advance which may be considered as the maximum of colonial increase in the most favourable circumstances, and when largely aided by emigration from the parent state. The total inhabitants of the British possessions in America are now about one million seven hundred thousand: but when it is recollected that the natural increase of this number is aided by an immigration, annually, of from fifty to sixty thousand persons in the prime of life from the British islands, which number is rapidly increasing, it may well be imagined that it is destined to become, ere long, one of the most powerful states of the New World.^{1*}

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84.

Political state
of Canada
and its popu-
lation.¹ Malte
Brun, xi. 179.
Martin's Col.
Hist. iii. p. 1,
and 89.

* The population of the British possessions in North America, according to the last censuses, taken in 1834 and 1842, was as follows:—

	1834.	1842.
Lower Canada,	549,005	
Upper Canada,	336,461	486,055
New Brunswick,	152,156	156,162
Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, . .	142,548	178,237
Prince Edward's Island,	32,292	
Newfoundland,	75,000	
Total,	1,287,462	

PORTER'S *Parl. Tables*, xii. 279, 283.

Increase of Population in Lower Canada.

Years.	Population.
1764,	76,275
1783,	113,012
1825,	425,080
1831,	540,628
1841, (Estimated,)	610,000

—MALTE BRUN, ix. 179. In the last eighty years, the population has multiplied eightfold.

The population of Upper Canada alone is now above 450,000, and the total inhabitants of the British provinces of North America are not under 1,700,000.—See MALTE BRUN, xi. 179; *American Stat. Alm.*, 267; and

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It is not the points of resemblance between Canada and the United States of America, it is the points of their difference, which require to be pointed out; and they are so remarkable as to indicate, not obscurely, a different ultimate destiny for the two nations.

85.
Loyalty of
the Cana-
dians.

The character of the Canadians bears the same relation to that of the Americans that the Tyrolese does to that of the Swiss. Both are sprung from the same race, are subjected to the same necessities, are animated by the same ambition, and enjoy, in a great measure at least, the same advantages. But there is this difference between them, and in its ultimate effects it may prove a vital one. The American has no sovereign; in him the aspirations of loyalty are lost, the glow of patriotic devotion is diffused over so immense a surface as to be well-nigh evaporated; and, from having no visible or tangible object to rest upon, the generous affections are too often obliterated, and individual ambition, private advancement, the thirst for gold, absorb every faculty of the mind. In the Canadian, on the other hand, patriotic ardour is in general mingled with chivalrous devotion; the lustre of British descent, the glories of British renown, animate every bosom, at least in the British race; and with the well-founded pride arising from the contemplation of their own vast natural advantages, and honourable martial exploits, is mingled a strong and personal attachment to the throne. In Upper Canada, in particular, which now numbers four hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants, these sentiments are peculiarly strong. The large bodies of Scottish Highlanders who have settled in its secluded wilds have borne with them from their native mountains the loyal ardour by which their race has been distinguished in every period of English history; on every occasion of hazard they have

MARTIN'S *Colonial History*, iii. p. 1. Table. The number of emigrants who have landed at Quebec and Montreal in the subjoined years, have been as follows. The marked diminution in the year 1838, being the year of the Canadian Revolt, is a striking commentary upon the tendency of the criminal ambition of its unprincipled leaders:—

1831,	.	.	49,783	1837,	.	.	29,884
1832,	.	.	66,339	1838, (Rebellion,)	.	.	4,577
1833,	.	.	28,808	1839,	.	.	12,658
1834,	.	.	40,060	1840,	.	.	32,293
1835,	.	.	15,573	1841,	.	.	38,164
1836,	.	.	35,226	1842,	.	.	54,128

—PORTER'S *Parl. Tables*, vi. 166; and vii. 199; and viii. 199; and xii. 253.

been foremost at the post of honour ; and to the patriotic attachment of the inhabitants of that noble province the preservation of those magnificent possessions to the British crown is mainly to be ascribed. The effect of this spirit upon national character is incalculable. It produces that first and greatest step in social elevation—a forgetfulness of self, a devotion to others, a surrender of the heart to generous affections. And from its tendency to concentrate the energies of men upon patriotic objects, it may at some future period, combined with the incalculable advantages of the water communication by the great chain of lakes, come to counterbalance all the riches of the basin of the Mississippi, and reassert in America the wonted superiority of northern valour over southern opulence.

A peculiar and highly interesting feature of society in Lower Canada is to be found in the *habitans*, or natives of French descent. These simple people, for the most part entirely uneducated, and under the guidance of their Catholic priests, comprise eight-ninths of the whole population of that province, and their number now is not short of five hundred thousand. In every respect they are the antipodes of the Anglo-Saxon race, which elsewhere in the New World has acquired so decided a preponderance. While the colonists of British descent are incessantly penetrating the forests in search of new abodes, and clearing them by their industry, those of French origin have in no instance migrated beyond the seats of their fathers, and remain immoveably rooted in their original settlements. They are more neat and clean in their persons than the British, kind-hearted and simple in their dispositions. Local attachment, unknown in America, is felt in the strongest degree among the *habitans* of Canada ; and rather than emigrate from their native habitations, or penetrate the woods in search of more extended or richer settlements, they divide and subdivide those which they already enjoy, till they have in many cases become partitioned into as diminutive portions as in the wine provinces of old France.¹

86.
The *habitans*
of Lower
Canada.

¹ Tocq. ii.
204. Malte
Brun, xi.
155. Buck-
ingham's
Canada, 247

The effects of this disposition have been in the highest degree important. While the British race has been continually spreading around them, with the same vigour as in the American States, and the forests in every direction

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87.

Their disin-
clination to
expand in the
woods.

have been falling beneath their strokes, the French inhabitants have been fixed immoveably in the seats of their fathers, and their descendants, though greatly increased in numbers, are to be found tilling their native fields. Hence, even in the infancy of their nation, they are already a prey to the evils of long-established civilisation. Population has become extremely dense in districts where the European race has been little more than a century established; and in the midst of a country which possesses three hundred thousand square miles of fertile territory, land is often partitioned into heritages of an acre and half an acre each. The ultimate results of this most striking peculiarity may already be distinctly foreseen. The British race, impelled into the wilderness by the wandering spirit which belongs to their blood, and the ardent passions which have been nursed by their institutions, will overspread the land, and, like a surging flood, surround and overwhelm those isolated spots where the French family, adhering to the customs, the attachments, and the simplicity of their fathers, are still marrying and giving in marriage in their paternal seats. Democracy is the great moving spring in the social world; it is the steam power of society, the centrifugal force which impels civilisation into the abodes of savage man.¹

¹ Malte
Brun, xi. 155,
156. Tocq. ii.
204.

88.
Ruinous ef-
fect of the
constitution
of 1791.

A rebellion, or possibly a separation from the parent state, was inevitably bequeathed to Canada by the constitution of 1791. That constitution, struck out at a heat during the first fervour of the French Revolution, and founded apparently on an equitable basis, the result of inexperience and an over-estimate of human nature, involved two fatal errors. 1st, The country was divided into different provinces, having separate assemblies, over each of which the representatives of the sovereign presided, without any common or paramount legislature in the colonies. Nothing could be more convenient at first sight, or just in theory, than this arrangement, under which the representatives of each province assembled within their own bounds to discuss their matters of local interest. But what was its effect when the representatives of Lower Canada, nine-tenths of the inhabitants of which were of French descent, were in one house, and those of the Upper Province, seventeen-twentieths of

whom are of British origin, in another ; and the former were animated by the combined passions of roused democracy and national animosity, and the latter by British spirit and steady loyalty to the throne ? 2d, One uniform rate of qualification, viz. the possession of a forty-shilling freehold in the country, or a ten-pound subject held in *tenancy*—as by the British Reform Bill—in towns, was established as the test of the elective franchise in all the British provinces ;* a principle in appearance the most equitable, but in practice the most perilous and unequal, where the population is composed of different races of men, in different degrees of civilisation, knowledge, and advancement. It is exactly the same thing as cutting clothes according to one measure for a stripling of fifteen, a man of thirty, and a veteran of sixty, merely because they happen to live under the same roof.

The English have felt the evils of this system, in its application to the British islands, since the Reform Bill established one uniform qualification for the sober English, inured to centuries of freedom ; the ambitious Scotch, teeming with visions of democratic equality ; and the fiery Irish, steeped in hatred of the religion and institutions of the Saxons. But these evils have been still more sorely felt in Canada, where that unhappy constitution, in its ultimate effects, gave the same powers to the French *habitans*, not one in fifty of whom could read, and who, speaking their native language, were but ill reconciled to a foreign dominion, as to the hardy English and Scotch emigrants, who had brought with them across the Atlantic the habits and loyalty of their fathers. But the evils consequent on this arrangement as yet lay buried in the womb of time ; they were brought to life only by the passions and the weaknesses of a future age ; and in 1812, when the war began, one only feeling of loyalty animated the whole inhabitants of the British North American possessions. Above forty thousand effective militia in arms were ready to defend their territory from invasion ; and the King of England had not, in his wide-spread dominions, more loyal subjects than the French inhabitants on the shores of the St Lawrence.¹

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89.
Evils arising
from the di-
versity of
race in
Canada.

Martin's
Col. Hist. iii.
127, 128. 31.
Geo. III. c.
31.

* By the act of 1791, 31 Geo. III. c. 31, the franchise is vested in forty-shilling freeholders in the country ; property to the amount of £5 sterling, or tenancy of a subject paying £10 rent, in towns.

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90.

Vast impor-
tance of
the North
American
colonies to
Great Britain.

Incalculable is the importance of its North American colonies to the British empire. Their population, doubling every quarter of a century, promises, in fifty years, to amount to between seven and eight millions of souls; while the opulence of the inhabitants, and the taste for British comforts which they have brought with them from their native country, are likely to render them a boundless vent for our manufactures. The peculiarity of their trade, consisting chiefly of those bulky articles, emigrants taken out, and wood brought home, has already rendered the commerce with them the nursery of the British navy. Already the exports of British produce and manufactures to our North American colonies have reached, on an average of years, nearly three millions sterling; an amount, great as it is, by no means unprecedented, when it is recollected that in 1812, when the war began, the United States of America, with a population somewhat under eight millions, took off annually thirteen millions' worth of British goods. But the marvels of the shipping employed in the North American trade exceed all other marvels.* From the parliamentary returns, it appears that the tonnage, wholly British, employed at this time (1841) in the trade with the North American provinces, has reached the enormous amount of eight hundred and forty thousand tons, being fully a fourth of that required for the intercourse carried on in British bottoms with the whole world put

* Table showing the progress of the export and import trade and tonnage with our North American possessions, from 1827 to 1841.

Years.	Exports. Declared value.	Imports. Declared value.	British tonnage.
1827	£ 950,490	£468,766	£359,793
1828	1,248,288	466,065	400,841
1829	1,117,422	569,452	431,901
1830	1,570,020	682,202	452,397
1831	1,922,089	902,915	480,236
1832	2,078,949	795,652	504,211
1833	2,100,211	756,466	512,820
1834	1,339,629	618,598	524,606
1835	2,127,531	629,051	631,345
1836	2,739,507	633,575	620,722
1837	2,141,035	684,791	631,427
1838†	1,992,459	553,827	665,354
1839	2,467,319	721,679	709,846
1840	2,847,913	834,427	808,232
1841	2,947,061	968,599	841,348

Parl. Return, 27th May 1840; PORTER'S Parl. Tables, x. 118.

† Rebellion.

together ; and that it has steadily advanced at the rate of doubling every ten years. At this rate of increase, in ten years more it will give employment to one million seven hundred thousand tons of shipping, or fully *a half* of the whole British tonnage at this time.* And observe, while this is the astonishing value of our colonial trade, both upon our manufactures and shipping, the result as regards our emancipated colonies is widely different. For the parliamentary papers demonstrate that at this moment, while seventeen hundred thousand of our fellow citizens in Canada annually consume nearly three millions' worth of our manufactures, seventeen millions in the United States take off on an average only six millions' worth, or considerably less than what half their number did thirty years ago, before rivalry of British manufactures had commenced. And while the trade with the Canadas gives employment to eight hundred thousand tons of British shipping, that with the independent States of America, with just *ten times* their population, only employs from eighty to ninety thousand, or a *tenth part* of its amount, the remainder having passed into the hands of the Americans themselves.

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These facts illustrate the important, and to a commercial state vital, distinction between the foreign and colonial trade, as they affect the market for manufactures and the means of national security. It may safely be affirmed, that on a due and general appreciation of this distinction, the existence of the British empire, in future times, will

91.
Vital difference between foreign and colonial trade.

* Table showing the comparative exports and tonnage to the United States of America, and the British possessions therein, in 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, and 1841 :—

Years.	Exports to United States. Declared value.	Exports to British American Possessions. Declared value.	Tonnage to United States. Inwards.		Tonnage to British Possessions.
			American.	British.	
1836	£12,425,605	£2,739,507	226,483	86,383	620,722
1837	4,695,225	2,141,035	275,813	81,023	631,427
1838	7,585,760	1,992,459	357,467	83,203	665,354
1839	8,839,204	2,467,619	282,005	92,482	709,406
1840	5,253,020	2,847,913	426,867	138,201	808,222
1841	7,098,642	2,947,061	294,170	121,777	841,348

—PORTER'S *Parl. Tables*, vi. 43, and vii. 43 ; *Ibid.* 1839, 1840, 1841, p. 44, 50, 52, 518.

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in all probability come to depend.* It is in vain now to lament the large proportion of our capital and national industry which has been directed to foreign commerce and manufactures, and the huge masses of our population, embracing the most dangerous classes of the community, who have come to depend on these branches of industry for their support. This direction, forced as it may appear, perilous as its consequences have become, has been induced upon the country by causes beyond the reach of human control, and probably forming part of the means employed by Providence for the dispersion of the European race through the world. It is of more consequence to recollect, as these facts demonstrate, the vital difference in respect to national safety between the foreign and the colonial trades, and the utter impossibility of any commercial nation long maintaining its independence, if a considerable part of its population depends on the markets they can find in foreign states. All such countries, from the very fact of their consuming manufactures, are growing rich, and will ere long become, if they are not already, rivals. The magnitude of a commercial nation's trade with such states is the measure, not of its strength, but of its weakness. It may at any moment be curtailed by foreign tariffs, destroyed by foreign hostility, and a helpless multitude of useless mouths left to encumber and paralyse the blockaded nation. But the case is very different with colonies which, forming integral though distant parts of the parent state, are actuated by no feeling of jealousy towards its mercantile establishments; which find their best interest in following the agricultural pursuits for which they are all in the first instance

* Table showing the population of the under-mentioned countries in 1836, the British exports to them, and the proportion per head they consume of such exports:—

	Population in 1836.	Exports in 1836.	Proportion per Head.
Russia, - - -	60,000,000	£1,722,433	£0 0 8½
Sweden, - - -	3,000,000	113,308	0 0 9
Denmark, - - -	2,000,000	91,302	0 0 10
Prussia, - - -	14,000,000	160,472	0 0 3½
France, - - -	32,000,000	1,591,381	0 0 11
Portugal, - - -	3,000,000	1,085,934	0 0 8
Spain, - - -	14,000,000	437,000	0 0 8
United States of America, -	14,000,000	12,425,605	0 17 6
British North American Colonies,	1,500,000	2,739,291	1 16 6
British West India Islands, -	900,000	3,786,453	3 12 0
British Australian Colonies, -	100,000	1,130,000	11 13 0
—PORTER'S <i>Parl. Tables</i> for 1836, p. 117, 118.			

destined by nature ; which constitute at once the best market for its industry, and the securest vent for its population. Such distant dependencies, forming a vast empire with the ocean for its interior line of communication, and held together by the strong bond of mutual interest, may, if ruled by wisdom and directed by foresight, long bid defiance to the open or covert hostility of foreign powers.

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CHAPTER XCI.

AMERICAN WAR.

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1.
Real causes
of the disas-
trous issue of
the first Ame-
rican war.

VARIOUS have been the causes assigned by statesmen and historians for the disastrous issue of the first American war. Two may be specified, of such paramount importance that they eclipse all the others, and are of themselves perfectly adequate to explain the phenomenon, without recurring to any other. Great Britain was at that period in an especial manner, as she is at all times in a certain degree, the victim at once of democratic parsimony and aristocratic corruption. She undertook the conquest of colonies possessing then three millions of inhabitants, situated three thousand miles from the parent state, with an army which could not bring ten thousand combatants into the field; for the whole military force of the empire, of every description, did not amount to twenty thousand men. The furious patriots and country party were perpetually declaiming against the enormous military and naval forces of an empire which even then embraced both hemispheres, when in fact these were considerably less than what Baden and Würtemberg, or other sixth-rate powers, now maintain, to defend dominions of not a hundredth part of the extent, nor possessing a thousandth part of the resources, of the British empire at that period.*

* Supplies for the year 1773:—

Dec. 3, 1772. That 20,000 men be employed for the sea service for the year 1773, including 4354 marines.

Dec. 10. That a number of land forces, including 1522 invalids, amounting to 17,070 effective men, commissioned and non-commissioned officers included, be employed for the year 1773.

Feb. 13, 1775. That 2000 men be now added to the navy, in prospect of the war with the Plantations in America.

This Liliputian army, such as it was, was still farther paralysed by the corruption—that inherent vice of aristocratic as well as democratic governments—which pervaded all its branches. Commissions in the army, bestowed almost entirely as a recompense for, or an inducement to secure parliamentary support, were seldom the reward of the most deserving. Military education was unknown. It was no unusual thing to see boys in the nursery, captains and even majors in the army; and such was the corruption of commissaries and superior officers, sharing in their gains in the field, that the expense of the troops was nearly doubled, while their efficiency was reduced to less than a half. From the combined operation of these causes, the war, which by a vigorous and efficient army, worthy of the real strength of England, might have been concluded with ease at latest in the second campaign, was protracted till France and Spain, as may always be expected in such a case, joined in the contest; and then England, after a long and costly struggle, was obliged in the end to succumb to a formidable coalition.

Even as it was, more than one opportunity of crushing the forces of the insurgents * was lost, by the incapacity on the part of the military commanders, or their selfish desire to protract the war, from the enormous profits with which, to them at least, it was attended. If Great Britain had put her naval and military forces on a proper footing *during peace*, and been ready, on the first breaking out of hostilities, to act with an energy worthy of her real strength; if she had possessed fifty thousand disposable troops in 1775, and a hundred thousand in 1792, the American war might have been brought to a victorious termination in 1776, the French contest in 1793: six years of subsequent disastrous warfare in the first case, and twenty of glorious but costly hostilities, in the second,

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2.
Corruption
and inef-
ficiency of
the army.3.
Fatal opera-
tion of these
causes on the
war.

Feb. 15. That an augmentation of 4383 men be made to the land forces.—*Ann. Reg.* 1773, 226; *App. to Chron.*; and for 1775, p. 93, 94.

These forces, it is true, were in the course of the war considerably augmented, and in 1776 above 40,000 men were voted by parliament: still this was not a third of what Great Britain might with ease have raised; but that only confirms the argument. It is not in the close, but the *commencement* of a revolution, that vigorous measures are likely to be successful.

* Particularly when the main American army, under Washington, was driven by Lord Howe into Long Island, and might have been made prisoners by a vigorous advance of the British troops, on 29th August 1776.—See *Ann. Reg.* vol. xix. 173.

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¹ See Ante,
c. 13, §131.

4.
Efforts of
Washington
to maintain
peace with
Great
Britain.

² Marshall's
Life of Wash-
ington, v.
314, 355, 365.
Tocq. ii. 105.
Ante, c. 21,
§ 83.

would have been avoided ; and the national debt, instead of eight hundred, would now have been under two hundred millions sterling. The history of England, for the last hundred and fifty years, has been nothing but a series of disasters in the first years of hostilities, in consequence of the absurd parsimony of the nation having starved down the military and naval establishments to the lowest point, during the preceding years of peace—often redeemed by glorious successes in the end, when experience had taught the people the necessity of exertion.¹

It was not surprising that the American people, after the glorious termination of the war of independence, should have retained a warm feeling of gratitude towards their allies, the French, and a strong degree of animosity towards their enemies, the English. The enlightened and truly patriotic leaders of this revolution, however, had discernment enough to perceive, that though the passions of the people were in favour of France, their interests were indissolubly wound up with those of England ; and they had greatness of mind sufficient to risk their popularity for the good of their country. The whole efforts of Washington and his friends in the government, from the conclusion of the American war in 1783, to the retirement of that great man from public life in 1796, were devoted to tempering the democratic ardour which had broken out with such vehemence in their country after the declaration of their independence, and laying the foundation of a lasting pacific intercourse with Great Britain. Yet, so strongly were the sympathies of the people enlisted on the side of France and revolution, that it required all his immense popularity to counteract, in 1793, the loudly expressed wish of the decided majority of the American citizens to declare war against Great Britain. So vehement was the clamour that, on more than one occasion at that period, it was apparent that the federalist party, to which he belonged, had lost the majority in the Chamber of Representatives ; and such was the fury of the journals out of doors, that he was openly accused of aspiring to the monarchy, and of being, “like the traitor Arnold, a spy sold to the English.” But Washington, unmoved, pursued steadily his pacific policy.² The horrors of the French Revolution cooled the ardour

of many of its ardent supporters on the other side of the Atlantic; and one of the last acts of that great man was to carry, by his influence in Congress, which procured its passing there only by the casting vote of the President, a commercial treaty with Great Britain.*

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But various causes contributed, in the course of the contest between England and France, at once to increase the partiality of the Americans to the latter country, and to bring such important interests of its citizens into jeopardy, as could hardly fail to involve them in the dispute. Under the influence of the equal law of succession, landed property was undergoing a continual division, while the increasing energy of the democratic multitude was gradually destroying the majority of the conservative party in Congress, and augmenting the violence of the popular press in the country. Already it had become painfully evident,—from the conduct of the American government on various occasions after Washington's retirement from public life, but especially in the dispute which occurred with France in 1797,† in consequence of the sanguinary decree of the Directory, and the readiness with which they accommodated all their differences with that power in 1800, and subscribed the treaty of Mortefontaine, which recognised Napoleon's new maritime code, and, in particular, stipulated that the flag should cover the merchandise, and that no articles should be deemed contraband of war but arms and warlike stores,—it had become painfully evident that their inclinations now ran violently in favour of the French side of the question, and that, right or wrong, for their interest or against it, they might be expected on the first crisis to take part with that power.‡ And with the usual tendency of mankind to attach themselves to names and not to things, this strong partiality for the French alliance, which originated in the common democratic feelings by which they both were animated, and the Republican institutions which they both had established, continued after France had passed over to the other side. The

5.
Progress of
the maritime
dispute with
America.

* See the treaty, 19th November 1794, between Great Britain and America, in MARTENS, v. 641; and *Ann. Reg.* 1795, *State Papers*, 294.

† *Ante*, Chap. xxv. §§ 130, 131; 18th January and 29th October 1798; 30th September 1800.

‡ *Ante*, Chap. xxxiii. § 14.

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citizens of the United States clamoured as loudly for a junction of their arms with those of the Great Empire, as they had done for an alliance offensive and defensive with the rising Republic.

6.
The Berlin
and Milan
decrees, and
British
Orders in
Council.

May 16, 1806.

Nov. 21,
1806; and
Nov. 17,
1807.

Nov. 11.

¹ Parl. Deb.
x. 134, 138.

7.
Effect of
these decrees
upon the
neutral trade.

The Berlin and Milan decrees, and British Orders in Council, however, brought the American commerce immediately into collision with both the belligerent states, and rendered it hardly possible that so considerable a maritime power could avoid taking an active part in the strife. It has been already mentioned how that terrible contest, distinguished by a degree of rancour and violence on both sides unparalleled in modern warfare, commenced with Mr Fox's declaring the coasts of France and Holland, from Brest to the Elbe inclusive, in a state of blockade; which was immediately followed by Napoleon's famous Berlin and Milan decrees, which retaliated upon the English by declaring the British islands in a state of blockade, and authorising the seizure and condemnation of any vessel on the high seas bound from any British harbour, and the confiscation of all British goods wherever they could be found.* To this the English government replied by the not less famous Orders in Council, which, on the preamble of the blockade of the British dominions established by the Berlin decree, declared "all the posts and places of France and her allies, from which, though not at war with his majesty, the British flag is excluded, shall be subject to the same restrictions, in respect of trade and navigation, as if the same were actually blockaded in the most strict and rigorous manner; and that all trade in articles, the produce or manufacture of the said countries or colonies, shall be deemed unlawful, and all such articles declared good prize."¹

It is difficult to say which of these violent decrees bore hardest upon neutral powers, or was most subversive of Napoleon's own favourite position, that the flag should cover the merchandise. For, on the one hand, the French Emperor declared that all vessels coming from England or its colonies, or having English goods on board, should be instantly seized and con-

* *Ante*, Chap. I. §§ 6-12, where the subject is fully discussed, and the orders on both sides given.

fiscated ; and on the other, the English government at once declared the whole dominions of France and its allies, comprehending, after the treaty of Tilsit, nearly the whole of Europe, in a state of blockade, and all vessels bound for any of their harbours, or having any of their produce on board, good and lawful prize. Between these opposite and conflicting denunciations, it was hardly possible for a neutral vessel, engaged in the carrying trade of any part of Europe, to avoid confiscation from one or other of the belligerent parties. In such circumstances the Americans, whose adventurous spirit had enabled them to engross, during this long war, nearly the whole carrying trade of the globe, had unquestionably the strongest ground of complaint ; but against whom was it properly to be directed ?—against the British, who, by Mr Fox's order, declared only the coast from the Elbe to Brest in blockade, and supported that declaration by a fleet of a thousand vessels of war, which had long since swept every hostile flag from the ocean ; or the French, who, without a single ship of the line, and only a few frigates at sea, had declared the whole British empire, in every part of the world, in blockade, and all its produce and manufactures, wherever found, lawful prize ? If Mr Fox's blockade of the Elbe and the Weser, besides the harbours of the French channel, was an unwarranted stretch, even when supported by the whole navy of England, what was Napoleon's blockade of the whole British empire, enforced only by a few frigates and sloops at sea ? If, therefore, the Americans suffered, as suffer they did, in this unparalleled strife, the party which was to blame was that which first commenced this extraordinary system of declaring blockades to extend beyond the places actually invested by sea or land ; and of that unheard-of extension Napoleon was unquestionably the author. If the Americans had been really animated by a desire in good faith to vindicate the rights of neutrals, and restrain the oppression of belligerents, what they should have done was to have joined their arms to those of Great Britain, in order to compel the return of the French Emperor to a more civilised method of warfare.

CHAP.
XCI.

1807.

8.
Origin of the
dispute with
America.

But these were very far from being the views which animated the ruling party now in possession of power in the United States. Mr Jefferson was now president, and he was the organ of the democratic majority, which, forgetting the wise maxims of Washington and the authors of American independence, without being inclined to submit, if it could possibly be avoided, to actual injustice or loss of profit from either of the belligerent powers, desired if possible to accommodate their differences with France, and wreak their spite on aristocracy, by uniting with that country against Great Britain. This disposition soon appeared in two decisive proceedings. The British government, in December 1806, had concluded and ratified a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, with the American plenipotentiary in London; but Mr Jefferson refused to ratify it on the part of the States, and it fell to the ground. Not long after, propositions were submitted by the American government to Napoleon on the subject of the Floridas, which they were desirous of acquiring from the Spaniards, and regarding which they wished a guarantee from the Emperor, that, in the event of their being attacked by the English, he would use his influence with the Spaniards to obtain their cession. This Napoleon, in the first instance, positively refused, as he had an eye to those possessions for Joseph as an appanage to the crown of Spain; and afterwards an ambiguous answer was returned: but this repulse had no effect in weakening Mr Jefferson's partiality for a French alliance.¹

Dec. 1807.
July 1808.
¹ Bign. viii.
399. Parl.
Deb. xiv.
882, 887.9.
Hostile mea-
sures of the
Americans
against the
British.
Oct. 27, 1807.

Meanwhile the American government took the most decisive measures for withdrawing their merchant vessels from aggression on the part of either of the belligerent powers. In the first instance, an angry message was communicated to Congress by Mr Jefferson, inveighing bitterly against the British orders in council of January 1807, but not breathing the slightest complaint against the French Berlin decree of November 1806, to which they were merely a reply. On receipt of intelligence of the more extended British orders of 11th November 1807, he laid a general embargo on all vessels whatever in the American harbours. And this was followed, on 1st March 1808, by the substitution of a non-intercourse act for the embargo, whereby all commercial

March 1.

transactions with either of the belligerent powers were absolutely prohibited; but the embargo was taken off as to the rest of the world. This act, however, contained a clause, (§ 11,) authorising the President, by proclamation, to renew the intercourse between America and either of the belligerent powers which should first repeal their obnoxious Orders in Council or Decrees. This non-intercourse act had the effect of totally suspending the trade between America and Great Britain, and inflicting upon both these countries a loss tenfold greater than that suffered by France, with which the commercial intercourse of the United States was altogether inconsiderable.¹

CHAP.
XCI.

1808.

¹ President's Message, Oct. 27, 1807. Ann. Reg. 1807, 763. State Papers, &c. for 1808, p. 228. Bign. viii. 399. Parl. Deb. xiv. 882, 887.

In addition to the other causes of difference, unhappily already too numerous, which existed between Great Britain and the United States, an unfortunate collision, attended with fatal consequences, ensued at sea. The Chesapeake, an American frigate, was cruising off Virginia, and was known to have some English deserters on board, when she was hailed by the Leopard, of fifty-two guns, Captain Humphreys, who made a formal requisition for the men. The American Captain denied he had them, and refused to admit the right of search; upon which Captain Humphreys fired a broadside, which killed and wounded several on board the Chesapeake, whereupon she struck, and the deserters were found on board, taken to Halifax, and one executed. The President upon this issued a proclamation, ordering all British ships of war to leave the harbours of the United States; but the English government disavowed the act, recalled Captain Humphreys, and offered to make reparation, as the right of search, when applied to vessels of *war*, extended only to a *requisition*, but could not be carried into effect by actual force.²

^{10.}
Affair of the Chesapeake.

June 23, 1807.

July 14.
² Hughes, v. 209. Ann. Reg. 1807. App. to Chron. 646.

This state of matters promised little hopes of an amicable adjustment; but as Mr Jefferson soon after retired from power, and was succeeded in the office of President by Mr Madison, who professed an anxious desire to adjust the differences which, to the enormous loss of both, had arisen between Great Britain and the United States, Mr Erskine, envoy and minister plenipotentiary at Washington, deemed the opportunity favour-

^{11.}
Mr Erskine's negotiation with Mr Madison.

CHAP.
XCI.1809.
April 17.

April 18.

April 19.

¹ See the
Correspon-
dence and
Proclama-
tion, Ann.
Reg. 1809,
694, 697.12.
Which the
British go-
vernment re-
fuses to ratify.

able for renewing the negotiations, and, if possible, restoring that amicable intercourse between the two countries on which their mutual welfare was so materially dependent. A correspondence accordingly ensued between Mr Erskine and Mr Smith, the American foreign secretary, in which it was expressly stated, that the non-intercourse act had produced a state of equality between the United States and the belligerent powers, and that he accordingly offered public reparation for the forcible taking of the men out of the American frigate Chesapeake, which had highly inflamed the national passions on both sides of the water. To this Mr Smith made a reply in a similar amicable spirit; and in consequence, Mr Erskine, on the 19th, wrote to Mr Smith, that "his Majesty's orders in council, of January and November 1807, will have been withdrawn, as respects the United States, on the 10th June next." To which Mr Smith rejoined, that the non-intercourse act would be withdrawn, in virtue of the powers conferred on the President by the act establishing it, from and after the 10th June; and a proclamation to that effect from him appeared the same day.¹

This important change of tone and concession had been obtained from the American government by a distinct and serious threat, held out by the five northern states of the Union, to break off from the confederacy if the non-intercourse act were any longer continued in force. To all appearance, therefore, the disputes with America were now brought to a close; and on the faith that they were so, American vessels, in great numbers, poured into the British harbours, and the commercial intercourse between the two countries became more active than ever. This auspicious state of matters, however, was not destined to be of long continuance. In concluding this arrangement with the United States, Mr Erskine had not only exceeded, but acted in contradiction to his instructions; * and although nothing could be more advantageous for

* This was at first denied, both in the House of Lords and Commons; but on February 5, 1810, Mr Canning seconded a motion of Mr Whitbread's for production of the instructions, which were accordingly brought forward and printed, and completely proved Mr Canning's assertion, that they had been violated by Mr Erskine. No farther notice, accordingly, was taken of the subject in parliament.—See *Parl. Deb.* xv. 314; and *Ann. Reg.* 1810, 255, 256.

Great Britain than the renewal of a commercial intercourse with that power, yet it was not by government deemed worth purchasing by an abandonment, so far as the greatest carrying power in existence was concerned, of the whole retaliatory policy of the orders in council.

The English ministry, accordingly, refused to ratify this arrangement; a resolution which, although fully justified in point of right by Napoleon's violence, and by Mr Erskine's deviation from his instructions, may now well be characterised as one of the most unfortunate, in point of expediency, ever adopted by the British government: for it at once led to the renewal of the non-intercourse act of the United States; put an entire stop, for the next two years, to all commerce with that country; reduced the exports of Great Britain fully a third, during the most critical and important years of the war; and, in its ultimate results, contributed to produce that unhappy irritation between the two countries which has never yet, notwithstanding the strong bonds of mutual interest by which they are connected, been allayed.¹*

It may well be imagined what a storm of indignation arose in the United States when the intelligence of the refusal of the British government to ratify Mr Erskine's convention was received; and how prodigiously it strengthened the hands of the party already in power, and supported by a decided majority in the nation, which was resolved at all hazards, and against their most obvious interests, to involve the country in a war with Great Britain. Mr Erskine, as a matter of course, was recalled, and Mr Jackson succeeded him as British envoy at Washington; but his reception was such, from the very outset, as left little hope of an amicable termination of the differences. From the President's table, where the English minister was treated with marked indifference, if not studied insult, to the lowest alehouse in the United States, there was nothing but one storm of indignation against the monstrous arrogance of the British maritime pretensions, and the duplicity and bad faith of their government.

CHAP.
XCI.
1809.

May 24.

¹ Ann. Reg.
1809, 255,
256. Parl.
Deb. xv. 314.

13.
Storm of indignation in the United States at this disavowal.

* Exports from Great Britain, declared value.

1806,	-	-	£40,874,983	1810,	-	-	£48,438,680
1807,	-	-	37,245,877	1811,	-	-	32,890,712
1808,	-	-	37,275,102	1812,	-	-	41,716,964
1809,	-	-	47,371,393	1813,	Records destroyed by fire.		

—PORTER'S *Progress of Nations*, ii. 98.

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XCI.
1809.

Unhappily the elections for Congress took place during this whirlwind of passion, and such was the ascendancy which the democratic party acquired in the legislature from this circumstance, that it was plain all hopes of an accommodation were at an end. Mr Jackson continued, however, at the American capital, striving to allay the prevailing indignation, and renew the negotiation where Mr Erskine had left it off. But it was all in vain ; and after a stormy discussion of twenty-five days in the House of Representatives, it was determined, by a great majority, to break off all communication with the British envoy. In consequence, Mr Pinckney, the American envoy in London, was directed to request the recall of Mr Jackson, whose firmness the American government found themselves unable to overcome ; and this was at once acceded to by the British administration. And on the 10th August, Mr Madison formally announced by proclamation, that as " England had disavowed the acts of its minister, the commerce which had been renewed with that country, on the supposition that the orders in council were repealed, must be again subjected to the whole operation of the non-intercourse act which had been suspended."¹

¹ Ann. Reg.
1810, 258,
262. Bign.
viii. 399, 400,
408.

14.
Neither
France nor
England will
repeal their
obnoxious
decrees.

Aug. 22.

Meanwhile the maritime dispute, so far as the orders in council and decrees of Napoleon were concerned, seemed to be reduced, as between America and both these powers, to a mere point of etiquette who should give in first. England had constantly declared, both in diplomatic notes and speeches by her ministers in parliament, that the orders in council were retaliatory measures only ; and that as soon as the French Emperor would recall the Berlin and Milan decrees, they should be repealed. On the other hand, Napoleon formally declared through M. Champagny, that " if England recalls her blockade of France, the Emperor will recall his blockade of England ; if England withdraws her orders in council of 11th November 1807, the Milan decree will fall of itself." And to complete the whole, America had already solemnly stated in the non-intercourse act, and Mr Madison had acted in terms of it by his declaration of 19th April 1809, that if either France or England would repeal their obnoxious decrees, the non-intercourse would immediately

cease with respect to the country making such concession. And this assurance was again renewed by the American legislature, in a bill brought forward in January 1810, which passed by a large majority. It seems difficult to account, therefore, for the continued adherence to the rigorous system of maritime warfare on the part of either of the belligerent powers, and especially of Great Britain, which had such vital commercial interests dependent on adjusting matters with America, and so little to gain either in honour or profit from a contest with that power. But notwithstanding all this, the misunderstanding seemed to increase rather than diminish; and on March 1st, Mr Pinckney, in a formal audience, took leave of the Prince Regent, not without, on his own admission, the most emphatic expressions on the part of his royal highness, of a wish to restore amicable relations with the United States.¹

After this, it was generally thought a rupture with America was inevitable; and so entirely were the Americans of this opinion, that the intercourse with France was openly renewed, and the American harbours were filled with French vessels, which were, for the most part, fitted out as privateers, and did considerable mischief to British shipping. Matters seemed to be brought to a point, by a collision which soon after took place between a British and American ship of war. On the 16th May, a most gallant officer, Captain Bingham, in the *Little Belt*, of eighteen guns, fell in with the American frigate *President*, of forty-four. The latter gave chase to the former, without either apparently being well aware to what nation the other belonged; and when they were within hail, each party asked the other to what nation they belonged. But before an answer could be received, or at least heard, the American frigate fired a broadside, which was immediately returned. The action now went on with great vigour on both sides, and was maintained with the most heroic valour by the British against such fearful odds for half an hour, when, during a suspension of a few seconds, the hailing was renewed, and as soon as it was understood what they were, both ships drew off, and the action ceased. Captain Rodgers, of the *President*, next morning sent a polite message to Captain Bingham, regretting

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XCI.

1811.

Jan. 22, 1810.

March 1,
1811.

¹ Cham-
pagny to Mr
Armstrong,
Aug. 22,
1809. Bign.
vi. 414, 416.
Ann. Reg.
180.

15.
Affair of the
Little Belt
and Presi-
dent.

CHAP.
XCI.

1812.

¹ James, vi.
8, 11.
Cooper's
Naval Hist.
i. 142, 144.
Ann. Reg.
1811, 152,
153.

16.
Threatening
aspect of the
negotiation.

what had occurred, and offering all assistance in his power, which was declined, and the ships returned to their respective harbours: the Little Belt had thirty-two men killed and wounded. The official accounts of the two commanders, as is usual in such cases, differed as to which began the action, each alleging that the other fired the first shot; but in this matter there is an article of real evidence, which seems decisive. It is hardly credible that a sloop with eighteen guns and one hundred and twenty-two men, would provoke a contest with a frigate of forty-four, manned by four hundred.¹

Notwithstanding this collision, the gallantry displayed in which by Captain Bingham and his crew excited a strong national feeling in Great Britain, and proportionally exasperated the Americans, the English government made one more attempt to adjust the differences between the two countries, by sending out Mr Foster as envoy plenipotentiary to the United States. The affairs of the Chesapeake and the Little Belt were easily adjusted, and in fact constituted complete sets-off against each other, as both had originated in the larger vessel attacking the smaller to enforce the right of search. Both had been satisfactorily arranged, by each government disclaiming that right when exercised by the armed vessel of one nation against an armed vessel of another. The seizure of Florida by America, which had recently before taken place during the distracted state of Spain, to which it belonged, was justified by the Americans on the ground that it was an appendage of Louisiana, which they had acquired by purchase; and it was proposed to discuss the title with the Spanish government, as soon as that government should be re-established. More serious subjects of difference arose in the right of search, strenuously insisted for by the British government, and as stoutly resisted by the American; and the orders in council, which the British government still declined to recall, and the revocation of which the Americans, with reason, maintained was an indispensable preliminary to any accommodation. So little favourable, in the close of the year, was the aspect of the negotiation, that the President's speech, in December, to Congress, contained a recommendation to raise ten thousand regular troops and fifty thousand militia;² and

² See the
Correspon-
dence in Ann.
Reg. 1811,
153, 157;
and for 1812,
193.

the vehement temper of the legislature so far outstripped the more measured march of the executive, that the numbers voted were, by a majority of one hundred and nine to twenty-two, increased to twenty-five thousand regular troops, and it was agreed to raise an immediate loan of ten millions of dollars.

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XCI.

1811.
Jan. 12, 1812.

The object of the Americans in thus precipitating hostilities, was to secure the capture of the homeward-bound West India fleet, which was expected to cross the Atlantic in May or June, before the British government was so far aware of their designs as to have prepared a convoy; and they made no doubt, that on the first appearance of an American force, the whole of Canada would, as a matter of course, fall into their hands. With this view, in the beginning of April, a general embargo was laid by Congress upon all the vessels in the harbours of the United States for ninety days; a measure which they hoped would at once prevent intelligence of their preparations from reaching Great Britain, and furnish themselves with the means, from their extensive commercial navy, of manning their vessels of war. The better to work the representatives up to the desired point of fermentation, the President soon after laid before them copies of certain documents, tending to stir up a separation of the northern provinces from the federal union, found on Captain Henry, who had been despatched by Sir James Craig, governor of Canada, into Massachusetts, without the knowledge of the government at home. To such a pitch were they transported, that a bill was brought into Congress, and seriously entertained, the object of which was to declare every person *a pirate*, and punishable with death, who, under pretence of a commission from any foreign power, should impress upon the high seas any native of the United States; and to give every such impressed seaman a right to attach, in the hands of *any* British subject, or of *any debtor* to *any* British subject, a sum equal to thirty dollars a-month during the whole period of his detention. This violent bill, worthy of the worst days of the French Revolution, actually passed a third reading of the House of Representatives, and was only lost in the Senate.¹

17.
Violent measures of Congress preparatory to a war.

April 3.

May 9.

¹ Ann. Reg.
1812, 195,
197.

When such was the temper of the ruling party in the

- CHAP. XCI. United States, it is unnecessary to follow out ulterior measures, or discuss the objects of complaint ostensibly put forth as the cause of the war. On the 18th of June an act passed both houses, by a majority of seventy-nine to forty-nine, declaring the actual existence of war between Great Britain and America; and hostilities were immediately ordered to be commenced. Nor did the American government make any attempt to recede from these hostile acts, when intelligence arrived a few weeks after this resolution, and before war had commenced, that, by an order in council, the British government had actually *repealed the previous orders*, so that the ostensible ground of complaint against this country was removed.* Great events were about to take place when the Americans thus thrust themselves into the contest. Three days after, Wellington crossed the Agueda to commence the Salamanca campaign: six days after, Napoleon passed the Niemen on his march to Moscow. No cause of complaint or hostility now remained; for although the right of search exercised by the British, in conformity with the common maritime law of nations, may have afforded a fit subject for remonstrance and adjustment, it was no ground for immediate hostilities. But on war they were determined, and to war they went. And thus had America, the greatest republic in existence, and which had ever proclaimed its attachment to the cause of freedom in all nations, the disgrace of going to war with Great Britain, then the last refuge of liberty in the civilised world, when their only ground of complaint against it had been removed; and of allying their arms with those of France, at the very moment of its commencing its unjust crusade against Russia, and straining every nerve to crush in the Old World the last vestige of Continental independence.¹
- When the ruling party in America was thus resolved, *per fas aut nefas*, to plunge into a war with England, it may naturally be asked, What preparations had they made for sustaining a contest with that formidable foe? They knew that Great Britain was the greatest maritime power in existence; that she had a hundred ships of the line in commission, and that a thousand ships of war bore the royal flag; they were aware that her
1812.
18.
War declared by America, though the orders in council are repealed.
June 18.
- June 23.
- ¹ Ann. Reg. 1812, 196, 197. Cooper, 172.
19.
Diminutive scale of the American preparations for war.

* *Ante*, Chap. lxiv. § 124.

armies had vanquished a vast dominion in India, and long measured swords on equal terms in the Peninsula with the conqueror of continental Europe. They had been preparing for the war for four years: since 1807, such had been the difference between them and the English government, that their intercourse with Great Britain had been almost entirely suspended. Almost all their trading vessels, several thousand in number, were at sea, and lay exposed in every quarter of the globe to the innumerable cruisers and privateers of the enemy whom they were thus anxious to provoke. What preparations, then, had a republic, embracing eight millions of souls within its territory, so vehemently bent on war, and having had so many years to muster its forces, actually made for a contest of the most impassioned character with such a naval and military power? Why, they had in 1811 four frigates and eight sloops in commission,* being the very time when the collision of the *President* and *Little Belt* took place: and in 1812, when the war broke out, their whole naval force afloat in ordinary, and building for the ocean and the Canadian lakes, was eight frigates and twelve sloops; while their military force amounted to the stupendous number of twenty-four thousand soldiers, not one-half of whom were yet disciplined, or in a condition to take the field.¹†

¹ Cooper, *Hist. of American Navy*, ii. 140, 167.

* Viz. in 1811:—

<i>President</i> ,	-	44	<i>Hornet</i> ,	-	-	18
<i>Constitution</i> ,	-	44	<i>Argus</i> ,	-	-	16
<i>United States</i> ,	-	44	<i>Siren</i> ,	-	-	16
<i>Essex</i> ,	-	32	<i>Nautilus</i> ,	-	-	12
<i>John Adams</i> ,	-	24	<i>Enterprise</i> ,	-	-	12
<i>Wasp</i> ,	-	18	<i>Vixen</i> ,	-	-	12

—COOPER'S *Naval History*, ii. 140.

† “As opposed to this unexampled naval power of Great Britain, America had on her list the following vessels, exclusive of gunboats, in 1812, viz. :—

<i>Constitution</i> ,	-	44	<i>John Adams</i> ,	-	28
<i>President</i> ,	-	44	<i>Wasp</i> ,	-	18
<i>United States</i> ,	-	44	<i>Hornet</i> ,	-	18
<i>Congress</i> ,	-	38	<i>Argus</i> ,	-	16
<i>Constellation</i> ,	-	38	<i>Siren</i> ,	-	16
<i>Chesapeake</i> ,	-	38	<i>Oneida</i> ,	-	16
<i>New York</i> ,	-	36	<i>Vixen</i> ,	-	14
<i>Essex</i> ,	-	32	<i>Nautilus</i> ,	-	14
<i>Adams</i> ,	-	28	<i>Enterprise</i> ,	-	14
<i>Boston</i> ,	-	28	<i>Viper</i> ,	-	12

“Of these vessels, the *New York* 36, and *Boston* 28, were unseaworthy; and the *Oneida*, 16, was on Lake Ontario. The remainder were efficient for their rates, though the *Adams* required extensive repairs before she could be sent to sea. It follows that America was about to engage in a war with by much the greatest maritime power that the world ever saw, possessing herself but *seventeen cruising vessels on the ocean, of which nine were of a class less than*

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XCI.

1812.

20.

Reflections
on this cir-
cumstance.

It is hard to say whether this extraordinary want of foresight, and sway of passion, in the American people and government, or the great things which, with such inconsiderable means, they actually did during the war, are the most worthy of meditation. It demonstrates, on the one hand, how marvellous is the *insouciance* and want of consideration in democratic communities ; how blindly they rush into war, without any preparation either to ensure its success or avert its dangers ; how obstinately they resist all propositions in time of peace to incur even the most inconsiderable immediate burdens to guard against future calamity ; how vehemently, at the same time, they can be actuated by the warlike passions ; and with what force, when so excited, they impel their government into the perilous chances of arms without the slightest preparation, and when calamity, wide-spread and unbounded, is certain to follow the adoption of a measure thus wholly unprovided for. On the other hand, the gallant and extraordinary achievements, both of the American navy and army, during the contest which followed, are no less worthy of consideration, as demonstrating how far individual energy and valour can overcome the most serious difficulties, and the tendency of democratic institutions to compensate, by the vigour they communicate to the people, the consequences of the debility and want of foresight which they imprint upon the government.

21.

Invasion of
Canada by
General Hull,
and his sur-
render.
July 1.

The first exploits of the American army, though such as might naturally have been expected from the total want of preparation on the part of their government or people for a war, were, nevertheless, very different from what the noisy democrats who had driven the nation into it had anticipated. Early in July, General Hull invaded Upper Canada with a force of two thousand five

frigates. At this time the merchant vessels of the United States were spread over the whole earth. No other instance can be found of so great a stake in shipping, with a protection so utterly inadequate. In addition to her vast superiority in ships, Great Britain possessed her islands in the West Indies, Bermuda, and Halifax, as ports for refitting, and places of refuge for prizes ; while on the part of America, though there were numerous ports, all were liable to be blockaded the moment an enemy might choose to send a force of two line-of-battle ships and one frigate to one point ; for it is not to be concealed that three two-decked ships could have driven the whole of the public cruising marine of America before them at the time of which we are writing."—COOPER'S *History of the American Navy*, ii. 167, 168.

hundred men, having crossed the Detroit, and marched to Sandwich, in that province. He there issued a proclamation, in which he expressed entire confidence of success, and threatened a war of extermination if the savages were employed in resisting the invasion. His next operations were directed against Fort Amherstburg, but he was repulsed in three different attempts to cross the river Canard, near which it stands; and General Brock, having collected a force of seven hundred British regulars and militia, and six hundred auxiliary Indians, not only relieved that fort, but compelled Hull to retire to Fort Detroit, on the American side of the St Lawrence, where he was soon after invested by General Brock. Batteries having been constructed, and a fire opened, preparations were made for an assault; to prevent which General Hull capitulated, with nearly two thousand five hundred men and thirty-three pieces of cannon—a proud trophy to have been taken, with the fort of Detroit, by a British force of no more than seven hundred men, including militia, and six hundred auxiliary Indians. At the same time the British captured the distant fort of Michilmackinac, of great consequence as cutting off the communication between the Americans and their Indian allies in the Michigan territory.¹

This early and glorious success had the most powerful effect in increasing the spirit and energy of the militia of Upper Canada, the inhabitants of which, of British origin, and strongly animated with patriotic and national feelings, had taken up arms universally to repel the hated invasion of their republican neighbours. An armistice had been shortly before agreed to between Sir George Prevost, the British governor of Canada, and General Dearborn, the American commander-in-chief on the northern frontier, in the hope that the repeal of the orders in council, of which intelligence had now been received, would, by removing the only real ground of quarrel between the two countries, have led to a termination of hostilities. But in this hope, how reasonable soever, they were disappointed. The American government, impelled by the democratic constituencies, had not yet abandoned their visions of Canadian conquest, and they not only disavowed the armistice, but determined upon a vigorous

CHAP.
XCI.

1812.

Aug. 16.

¹ Ann. Reg.
1812, 199.
Gen. Brock's
Desp. Aug.
16, 1812.
Ibid. App. to
Chron. 243.

22.

Armistice on
the frontiers,
which is dis-
avowed by
the American
government,
and dissatis-
faction the
disavowal
excites.

CHAP.
XCI.
1812.

1 Ann. Reg.
1812, 200,
201. Tocq. i.
289.

23.
Total defeat
of the Ame-
ricans at
Queenstown.

prosecution of the contest. As this determination, however, unveiled the real motives which had led to the war, and demonstrated that the orders in council had been a mere pretext, it gave rise to the most violent dissatisfaction in the northern provinces of the Union, who were likely, from their dependence upon British commerce, to be the greatest sufferers by the contest. So far did this proceed, that many memorials were addressed to the President from these states, in which they set forth, that they contemplated with abhorrence an alliance with the present Emperor of France, every action of whose life had been an attempt to effect the extinction of all vestiges of freedom; that the repeal of the orders in council had removed the only legitimate object of complaint against the British government; and that, if any attempts were made to introduce French troops into the United States, they would regard them as enemies.* Nor were these declarations confined to mere verbal menaces; for two of the states, Connecticut and Massachusetts, openly refused to send their contingents, or to impose the taxes which had been voted by Congress; and symptoms of a decided intention to break off from the confederacy were already evinced in the four northern states, comprising New York and the most opulent and powerful portions of the Union.¹

The American government, however, were noways intimidated either by the bad success of their arms in Canada, or by the menaces of the northern provinces of the Union. Later in the season they assembled a considerable force in the neighbourhood of Niagara; and, on the 13th October, General Wadsworth crossed over with thirteen hundred men, and made an attack on the

* "On the subject of any French connexion we have made up our minds. We will in no event assist in uniting the Republic of America with the military despotism of France. We will have no connexion with her principles or her power. If her armed troops, under whatever name or character, should come here, we will regard them as enemies."—*Memorial from Rockingham in New Hampshire, 15th September 1812.*

"We are constrained to consider the determination to persist in the war, after official notice of the revocation of the British orders in council had been received, as a proof that it was undertaken on motives entirely distinct from those hitherto avowed; and we contemplate with abhorrence the possibility even of an alliance with the present Emperor of France, every action of whose life has demonstrated that the attainment, by any means, of universal empire, and the consequent extinction of every vestige of freedom, are the sole objects of his incessant, unbounded, and remorseless ambition."—*Resolutions of Thirty-four Cities and Counties of the State of New York, adopted at a meeting held at Albany, 17th and 18th September 1812. Annual Register, 1812, p. 201.*

British position of Queenstown. General Brock immediately hastened to the spot ; and, while gallantly cheering on the grenadiers of the 49th, he fell mortally wounded, and soon after died. Discouraged by this loss, the British fell back, and the position was lost ; but this success of the enemy was of short duration. Reinforcements, consisting partly of regular troops, partly of militia, came up to their aid, of whom General Sheaffe had now assumed the command ; and a combined attack was made on the American force by the English troops and artillery in front and on flank, in all about eight hundred men, while Norton, the Indian chief, with a considerable body of savages, menaced their other extremity. This well-laid attack proved entirely successful. After a short conflict the Americans were totally defeated, their commander, General Wadsworth, with nine hundred men, being made prisoners, with one gun and two colours taken, and two hundred killed and wounded ; while the total loss of the British and their gallant Canadian comrades did not exceed seventy men. At the same time Brigade-Major Evans, from Fort George on the Canadian side of the river, opened so heavy a fire on Fort Niagara on the opposite side, that the enemy were compelled to evacuate the fort. This victory, important and decisive as it proved, was dearly purchased by the loss of General Brock, an officer of equal suavity and firmness in civil administration, and energy and valour in war ; and to whose worth, well known on both sides of the frontier, the honourable testimony was borne of minute guns being discharged during his funeral, alike by the American and the British batteries.¹

Irritated, rather than discouraged, by those repeated and disgraceful failures, the Americans now strained every nerve to augment their naval forces on Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, and reinforced General Dearborn, who commanded their troops on the frontier of Lower Canada, so considerably, that by the middle of November he was at the head of ten thousand men. At the same time General Smyth had five thousand, chiefly militia, on the Niagara frontier ; and they had augmented their fleet on Lake Ontario to such a degree, that the British flotilla was unable to face it, which gave them the entire com-

CHAP.
XCI.

1812.

Oct. 13.

¹ Christie's
Memoirs of
the War in
Canada, 67,
68. Sheaffe's
Desp. Oct.
13, 1812.
Ann. Reg.
1812, p. 253.
App. to
Chron.

24.

A third in-
vasion of
Canada is
repulsed.

CHAP.
XCI.

1812.

Nov. 28.

Nov. 22.

¹ Christie,
65, 68. Ann.
Reg. 1813,
177, 178.

25.
Success of the
Americans at
sea.

June 23.

mand of the lake. Encouraged by this favourable state of affairs, which they were aware might be turned the other way before spring, they resolved, notwithstanding the lateness and inclemency of the season, to make a combined attack on the British possessions both in the upper and lower provinces. Early on the morning of the 28th November, accordingly, General Smyth commenced the invasion of Upper Canada, by crossing the St Lawrence, between Chippewa and Fort Erie, with about five hundred men; but they were received in so vigorous a manner by a small British detachment under Colonel Bishop, that they were repulsed with severe loss. About the same time, General Dearborn commenced a systematic attack on Lower Canada; but the militia and regular forces of that province, under General Prevost, turned out with such alacrity, and in such formidable numbers, that he withdrew without making any serious progress, and put his army into winter quarters in the neighbourhood of Plattsburg. Thus the invasion of the Canadas, from which the Americans expected so much, and in the hope of which being successful they had mainly engaged in the war, terminated this year in nothing but discomfiture and disgrace.¹

But if the Americans were unsuccessful on one element, they met with extraordinary and unlooked-for triumphs on another; which excited the greater sensation, that they shook the general belief which at that time prevailed of British invincibility at sea, and opened up, to the jealousy of other nations at our commercial greatness, hopes of its overthrow at no distant period. The first action which took place after war was declared, was between the British frigate *Belvidera*, and the American frigate *President*. The British vessel, commanded by Captain Byron, was in charge of a large fleet of West India merchantmen on their way home; and Captain Rodgers came up with her on the 23d June, with a squadron of three frigates and two sloops, which immediately gave chase, and a running fight ensued which lasted for a whole day, each party losing two-and-twenty men. But the result was favourable to the British, whose guns were pointed with great skill, and produced a surprising effect, as the American squadron failed in taking the single

English frigate, and the whole merchantmen escaped untouched. After a cruise of seventy days, the American squadron returned to port, having only captured seven merchantmen in that time, although they fell upon the British commerce when wholly unaware of impending hostilities.¹

CHAP.
XCI.

1812.

¹ James, vi.
105. Cooper,
ii. 172, 178.

Shortly after, the Constitution was chased by a squadron of British frigates, headed by the Africa of sixty-four guns, and escaped after a most interesting chase, in which great skill and ability were displayed on both sides. But in the next action the result was very different. The Constitution fell in on the 19th August with the Guerrière, Captain Dacres, and a most obstinate action took place. The American frigate was decidedly superior, both in the number and weight of its guns, and the number of its crew;* but notwithstanding that disadvantage, Captain Dacres maintained a close fight, yard-arm to yard-arm, for upwards of an hour, with his formidable antagonist. At the end of that time, however, his vessel was a perfect wreck, wholly dismasted, rolling about in the trough of a tempestuous sea, incapable of making any further resistance, with seventy-nine men killed and wounded, including among the latter Captain Dacres himself, and thirty shots in the hull below water-mark; while the Constitution had only seven killed and as many wounded. In these circumstances further resistance was evidently hopeless, and the English colours were mournfully lowered to the broad pendant of their emancipated offspring.²

26.
Capture of
the Guer-
rière by the
Constitution.
Aug. 19.

² Captain
Dacres' Account,
Ann. Reg.
1812, 249.
App. to Chron.
James, vi.
105. Cooper,
ii. 172, 201.

Hardly had the English recovered from the shock of this unwonted naval disaster, when other blows of the same description succeeded each other with stunning rapidity.

* The relative force on the two sides was as follows:—

	Guerriere.	Constitution.
Broadside guns,	24	28
Weight in lbs.,	517	768
Crew,	244	460
Tons,	1092	1533

—JAMES, vi. 104; and COOPER, ii. 199, 200.

“Captain Dacres,” says the American annalist, “lost no professional reputation by his defeat: he had handled his ship in a manner to win the applause of his enemies, fought her gallantly, and only submitted when further resistance would have been as culpable as in fact it was impossible. That the Constitution was a larger and heavier ship than the Guerrière, will be disputed by no nautical man, though less it is believed than might be inferred from their respective rates; but the great inferiority of the Guerrière was in her men.”—COOPER, i. 199, 201.

CHAP.
XCI.

1812.

27.

Frolic and
Wasp.
Oct. 17.

On the night of the 16th October, the Frolic British sloop of eighteen guns fell in with the American brig Wasp, of the same number of guns, but considerably superior both in weight of metal, tonnage, and crew.* The crew of the Frolic were labouring to repair their rigging, which had been severely damaged the day before in a gale, when the action commenced, and was kept up with equal skill and spirit on both sides. But the rigging of the British vessel was in so shattered a condition, from the effect of the previous storm, that in ten minutes she lay an unmanageable log in the water, which gave her opponent such an advantage, that in twenty minutes more she was compelled to strike. This disaster, however, except in so far as the moral influence of the triumph to the American arms was concerned, was speedily repaired; for a few hours after the action, the Poictiers of seventy-four guns hove in sight, and at once captured the Wasp, and recaptured the Frolic, the captain of which, in just testimony of his valour, was continued in the command.¹

Oct. 16.
1 James, vi.
109, 112.
Cooper, ii.
208, 211.

28.
Capture of the
Macedonian
by the United
States.
Oct. 25.

But a more serious disaster soon occurred. On the 25th October, the American frigate United States hove in sight of the British frigate Macedonian. As usual on all these occasions, the American vessel was superior by nearly a half in tonnage, crew, and weight of guns.† From the very commencement of the combat, which for some time was at long shot only, it was evident that the Americans were cutting the British to pieces with comparatively little loss on their side; and when at length the English commander succeeded in engaging the enemy in close fight, which Commodore Decatur of the United States willingly joined in, the superiority of the enemy's fire was such that the Macedonian was soon dismasted—she had received nearly a hundred shots in her hull, and her lower tier of guns, owing to the rolling of the vessel

	Frolic.	Wasp.
* Guns, broadside,	9	9
Crew,	92	135
Tons,	384	434
—JAMES, vi. 112.		
	Macedonian.	United States.
† Broadside guns,	24	28
Weight of broadside—lbs.	528	864
Crew—men only,	254 (35 boys)	474
Tons,	1081	1533
—JAMES, vi. 119; and COOPER, ii. 206.		

in a tempestuous sea, were under water, while a third of her crew were killed or wounded. On the other hand, the American vessel, having no sail which she could not set except her mizzen-topsail, remained perfectly steady. Even in these desperate circumstances, however, the native spirit of British seamen did not desert them: as a last resource, an attempt was made to carry the enemy by boarding, and the moment this intention was announced, every man who could move was on deck, several of whom had lost an arm but a few minutes before in the cockpit; and the universal cry was, "Let us conquer or die." At this moment, however, the fore-brace was shot away, and the yard, swinging round, threw the vessel upon the wind, so that boarding was impossible. The United States then stood athwart the bows of the Macedonian without firing a gun, and passed on out of shot. It was at first supposed she was making off by the British sailors, who loudly cheered. But this was only to refill her cartridges, which had been expended; and soon tacking, she took up a raking position across the stern of her now defenceless antagonist, and soon compelled her to strike her colours. The superiority of the American force, as well as her weight of metal, was then very apparent; for while the Macedonian had thirty-six killed and sixty-eight wounded, the United States had only five killed and seven badly wounded.¹

Nor was this the last of the discomfitures which at this period befell the British navy. The Java, forty-six guns, had sailed from Spithead on the 12th November, with a motley crew of three hundred and ninety-seven persons, nearly one-half of whom were wholly inexperienced; and on the 28th they discharged six broadsides of blank cartridges, being the first that the majority of the crew had ever assisted in firing. Captain Lambert, who commanded her, had warmly remonstrated against this wretched ship-complement, declaring that with such people he was not only no match for an American of superior, but hardly for a Frenchman of equal size. But all the answer he got from the Admiralty was, that "a voyage to the East Indies and back would make a good crew." Obligated to submit, the English captain set sail, and, on the 28th December, fell in with the American

CHAP.
XCI.
1812.

¹ Captain
Cadin's Desp.
Oct. 28,
1812. Ann.
Reg. 255.
App. to
Chron.
James, vi.
113, 117.
Cooper, ii.
205, 207.

29.
Action
between the
Java and
Constitution.

CHAP.
XCI.
1812.
Dec. 29.

¹ Brenton, ii.
461. Ann.
Reg. 132, for
1812.
James, vi.
128, 129.
Cooper, ii.
219, 220.

30.
Desperate
defence of
the former.

frigate Constitution; and, notwithstanding the superior bulk and weight of his antagonist,* and the wretched condition of his crew, Captain Lambert immediately made up to the enemy, although nineteen of his men were away with a prize he had shortly before made. The Constitution at first stood away under all sail before the wind, to gain the distance at which the American gunnery was so destructive; but finding the British frigate gained upon her, she shortened sail, and placing herself under the lee bow of the Java, a close action immediately commenced. The first broadside of the English frigate told with such effect on the American hull that the latter wore to get away; but the skilful Englishman wore also, and a running fight ensued for a considerable time, during which Captain Lambert's superiority of seamanship was very apparent.¹

After a desultory engagement of this sort for forty minutes, during which the Java, notwithstanding the superior weight of the enemy's metal, had suffered very little, the two vessels came within pistol-shot, and a most determined action ensued. Captain Lambert now resolved on boarding; but just as he was making preparations for doing so, the foremast of the Java fell with a tremendous crash, breaking in the forecastle and covering the deck, and soon after the main-topmast came down also; and, to complete their misfortunes, Captain Lambert fell, mortally wounded. The command now devolved on Lieutenant Chads; but he found the vessel perfectly unmanageable, and the wreck of the masts falling over on one side, almost every discharge set the vessel on fire. Still the action continued with the most determined resolution; but at length, after it had lasted three hours and a half, the Java was found to be rapidly sinking, while the Constitution had assumed a raking

* Comparative force of the two vessels:—

	Java.	Constitution.
Broadside guns, . . .	24	28
Weight—lbs., . . .	517	768
Crew—men only, . . .	344	460
Tons, . . .	1092	1533

—JAMES, vi. 104 and 134; and COOPER, ii. 225.

“The same peculiarity,” says Cooper, “attended this combat as had distinguished the two other cases of frigate actions. In all the three the American vessels were superior to their antagonists; but in all three the difference in execution was greatly disproportioned to the disparity in force.”—ii. 225.

position, where every shot told, and not a gun could be brought to bear on her. In these desperate circumstances, Lieutenant Chads at length struck; and the vessel was so disabled that, as soon as the crew were taken out, the American captain blew her up. In this desperate and unequal engagement, the Java had twenty-two killed, and one hundred and two wounded; the Constitution ten killed, and forty wounded. Captain Bainbridge treated the officers most generously, though his conduct to the crew was unnecessarily severe; a conduct which contrasted with that of Captain Hull the former captain of the Constitution, and Captain Decatur of the United States, who had treated their prisoners of all ranks with the courtesy which is ever the accompaniment of heroic minds.^{1*}

CHAP.
XCI.

1813.

¹ Brenton, ii. 460, 462.
James, vi. 127, 137.
Cooper, ii. 220, 224.
Lieut. Chads' Account, Dec. 31, 1812.
Ann. Reg. 1813, 132.
App. to Chron.

Another action between smaller vessels, but terminating in the same result, took place on the 14th February 1813, between the British sloop Peacock, and the American brig Hornet. In this, as in all the previous instances where the Americans had proved successful, the superiority on their side was very decided;† but the action which ensued was, nevertheless, of the most bloody and destructive kind. It lasted an hour and a half; at the end of which time, the effect of the American's fire was so tremendous that the Peacock was found to be in a sinking state. A signal of distress was immediately hoisted, which was answered with praiseworthy humanity by the brave Americans, and every effort was made by the crews of both vessels to save the disabled ship.² But, notwithstanding all their efforts, she went down in a few minutes, with thirteen of her own crew and three

31.
The Peacock taken by the Hornet.

² James, vi. 193. Cooper, ii. 227, 228.

* The heroism displayed on both sides in this action never was surpassed. A midshipman, Mr Keele, a boy thirteen years of age, had his leg shot away, and suffered amputation. He anxiously inquired, after the action was over, whether the vessel had struck, and seeing a ship's colour spread over him, the little hero grew uneasy till he saw it was an English flag. He died next day. The boatswain, Mr Humble, had his hand shot away, and he was wounded above the elbow; but no sooner was the tourniquet put on than he hastened on deck, to cheer his comrades with his pipe in boarding.

† Comparative force of the combatants :

	Peacock.	Hornet.
Broadside guns,	9	10
Weight—lbs.,	192	297
Crew—men only,	110	162
Tons,	386	460

—JAMES, vi. 193.

CHAP.
XCI.

1813.

32.
Prodigious
moral effect
of these vic-
tories.

of the *Hornet's*, who were engaged in the noble act of striving to save their enemies.

No words can convey an adequate idea of the impression which the successive capture of these three frigates and two sloops made, not only in Great Britain and America, but over the whole civilised world. The triumphs of the British navy, for above a century, had been so uninterrupted, and the moral influence the nation had in consequence acquired had become so prodigious, that it was generally believed, both at home and abroad, that they were invincible, and that no other nation had any chance of success in combating them on the ocean except with the most decided superiority of force. When, therefore, it was seen that, in repeated instances of combats of single vessels of the same class against each other, the ships of the United States had proved victorious, the English were stunned as by the shock of an earthquake, the Americans were immeasurably, and with good reason, elated, and the other nations in Europe thought they discerned at last the small black cloud arising over the ocean which was to involve the British maritime power in destruction. The majority of men in the Continental states, ever governed by the event, and incapable of just discrimination, took no trouble to inquire whether or not the vessels opposed to each other had been equally matched, but joined in one universal chorus of exultation at the defeat of a nation which had so long been the object of their avowed dread and secret jealousy. And it was generally said, apparently not without reason, that a naval power which, with the command only of four frigates and eight sloops, had in so short a time achieved such successes, might look forward at no distant period, when its navy was enlarged, to wresting from Great Britain the sceptre of the ocean.¹

¹ Cooper, ii. 197. Ann. Reg. 1812, 108, 109.

33.
Reflections
on the causes
which gave
rise to them.

In truth, this succession of disasters, like all calamities which occur in such numbers together as to be obviously beyond the effect of chance, gave much subject for serious reflection, not merely to the heedless multitude, but to reflecting statesmen. It was now painfully evident that the English were not invincible on their favourite element; that foresight in preparation, as well as energy in action, were necessary to sustain their fortunes; and

that, if these were neglected, they had no exemption from the common lot of humanity. The few who looked beyond the mere surface of things saw, indeed, to what cause the disasters had been owing. The British government, maintaining a hundred ships of the line, and five hundred smaller vessels actually in commission, and carrying on war at once in every quarter of the globe, could not by possibility man their vessels with the same picked and skilled crews as the Americans, who had merely a few frigates and sloops to fit out from the resources of a great commercial navy. The frigates and brigs of the United States, built with extraordinary skill and in a peculiar manner, to which there was no parallel in the British navy, were at once too swift sailers to be overtaken by ships of the line, and of too heavy metal to be a fair match for frigates nominally of the same class. This peculiarity in the constitution of their vessels had been wholly overlooked by the Admiralty, who anticipated no danger from so diminutive a marine as that of the United States, though it was well known, and had been the subject of anxious solicitude to better-informed individuals in the community.*

But, admitting the full weight of these circumstances, it was plain that a new era in naval warfare had arisen, since the English came to contend with their Anglo-Saxon brethren on the other side of the Atlantic. The very fact of the comparison which they so anxiously instituted with their American antagonists, and the superiority on the part of the latter, in weight of metal and strength of crews, in the encounters which had taken place, which they justly pointed out, afforded decisive proof of this. With the French and Spaniards, they had been accustomed to look only to the class of vessels, and never to count guns. In seamanship, the British sailors, inured to the storms of every quarter of the globe, might

CHAP.
XCI.
1813.

34.
They demonstrated
an equality in
American
and British
seamanship.

* In 1808, four years before the American war broke out, the author well recollects hearing his uncle, the late Dr Gregory of Edinburgh, who paid uncommon attention to naval affairs, say, "The Americans are building long forty-six gun frigates, which really carry fifty-six or sixty guns; when our forty-fours come to meet them, you will hear something new some of these days." In England, as in every other constitutional monarchy, the intelligence and information of enlightened individuals generally precede those of government or public functionaries. If the direction of affairs could be confined to *such* men, or those whom they can influence, no wise man would object to the widest extension of the elective franchise.

CHAP.
XCI.

1813.

justly claim an equality with the Americans similarly instructed, and a superiority to the mariners of any other country in the globe. But in the practice of gunnery, especially at a distance, it was very evident that they were, at that moment, their inferiors; and experience had now proved, that long-continued and unexampled success had produced its wonted effect in relaxing the bands of British naval preparation; and that they had much need to recollect, that in the language of the ancient conquerors of the world, the word for an *army* was derived from the verb to *exercise*.*

35.
Vigorous
efforts made
in England to
repair the
disasters.

In this, as in other cases, however, it soon appeared, that as much as unbroken prosperity is pernicious, so occasional disaster is beneficial to nations, provided only that the patriotic spirit is not extinct in their members, or the generous feelings buried under the weight of selfish indulgence. The surviving officers who had commanded in the vessels which had been taken were all tried by court-martial, honourably acquitted, and immediately after employed anew. This was going to work in the right spirit; there was no attempt to select a second Byng to be the expiatory victim for popular clamour or ministerial neglect. The most vigorous efforts were made by the Admiralty, at once to strengthen the squadrons on the coast of America, and to fit out single ships, which might, from their size, crews, and weight of metal, really be a match for the gigantic frigates which the United States had sent forth to prowl through the deep. Several vessels were commenced on the model of the American frigates and sloops, which had been found by experience so swift in sailing and formidable in action; and secret instructions were given to the commanders of vessels on the North American station, not to hazard an encounter with an opponent nominally of the same class, unless there was something like a *real* as well as an apparent equality between them. Greater care was, at the same time, taken in the selection of crews: a larger proportion of men was given to the cannon on board; and orders were issued for the frequent exercise of the men in ball practice, both with small arms and great guns¹—a point of vital impor-

¹ James, vi.
144, 151, 196.
Ann. Reg.
1813, 108,
109.

* *Exercitus*, from *exerceo*, to exercise.

tance in naval warfare, but one which had hitherto been in an unaccountable manner neglected, with a very few exceptions, in all the departments in the British navy.

CHAP.
XCI.
1813.

The good effects of these improvements speedily appeared in the next naval actions which ensued. Sir John Borlase Warren, who commanded on the North American station, established a vigilant blockade of the harbours of the United States; their commerce was soon entirely ruined; the immense carrying trade they had so long conducted slipped from their hands;* and such was the consequence of this upon their national finances, which depended almost entirely on custom-house duties, that the public revenue had sunk, since the contest had commenced, from twenty-four millions of dollars annually to eight millions. Paralysed in this manner, in the sinews of war, by the first results of the struggle, the American government were in no condition to augment their expenditure; and notwithstanding the enthusiasm which their glorious successes had excited in the country, no attempt was made by Congress, during the year 1812, to increase their naval force. In the beginning of the next year, however, they passed two acts, the one authorising the building of four seventy-four gun ships, and four of forty-four; and in March, six additional sloops were ordered to be built for the ocean; and for the lakes, as many as the public service might require. But a very considerable period might be expected to elapse before these vessels could be ready for sea, and meantime their trade was destroyed and the danger imminent. A close blockade of all their harbours was maintained by the British: the bays of the Chesapeake and the Delaware were scoured by Admiral Cockburn at the head of a light squadron fitted out for that purpose;¹ and various landings, by bodies of marines, were effected

36.
Good effects
of these
efforts, and
supineness of
the American
government.

April 29.
¹ Cooper, ii.
204, 205.
Ann. Reg.
1813, 109.

* Home produce, and of foreign countries, exported from America:—

Years.	Foreign.	Home.	Total.
1805,	£11,078,964	£8,830,625	£19,909,589
1806,	12,559,006	8,594,526	21,153,552
1807,	12,425,741	10,145,747	22,571,488
1812,	1,769,817	6,256,689	8,026,506
1813,	593,301	5,220,031	5,813,322
1814,	30,243	1,412,973	1,443,216

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, ii. 191.

CHAP.
XCI.

1813.

37.
The Shannon
and Chesapeake.

along their shores; which, besides doing considerable damage to the enemy's naval stores and arsenals, kept the towns on the coast in a constant state of alarm.

Among the many officers in the British navy who ardently desired to meet, even on inferior terms, but with an adequate crew, with the American forty-four gun frigates, was CAPTAIN BROKE of the Shannon. This able officer commanded a frigate pierced for thirty-eight guns, but really mounting fifty-two; and, contrary to the general practice in the British navy, he had for many years trained the crew, whom, by admirable management, he had brought to the highest state of discipline and subordination, to the practice of ball-firing with their great guns. Being stationed off Boston, where the Chesapeake of forty-nine guns, under Captain Lawrence, had passed the winter, Captain Broke, to render the combat equal, sent away his consort, the Tenedos, of equal strength with his own vessel, with instructions not to return for three weeks; and when she was fairly out of sight, he stood in to the mouth of the harbour, and sent a challenge, couched in the most courteous terms, to the Captain of the Chesapeake, stating the exact amount of his force, and inviting him to single combat for the honour of their respective flags.* Having despatched this letter, Captain Broke, with colours flying, lay close in to Boston lighthouse; and soon the Chesapeake was under weigh, surrounded by numerous barges and pleasure boats, which, amidst loud cheers, accompanied her some way out to what they deemed a certain victory. Captain Lawrence of the Chesapeake had not received Captain Broke's challenge when he stood out; but he was too brave a man to shun an offered combat on equal terms; and such was the confidence which the inhabitants of Boston entertained of his success,¹ that they had prepared a public supper to greet the

¹ James, vi.
198, 199.
Cooper, ii.
284, 285.

* "As the Chesapeake appears to be now ready for sea, I request you will do me the favour to meet the Shannon with her, ship to ship, to try the fortunes of our respective flags. All interruption shall be provided against. I entreat you, sir, not to imagine that I am urged by mere personal vanity to the wish of meeting the Chesapeake; we have both nobler motives. You will feel it as a compliment, if I say, that the result of our meeting may be the most grateful service I can render to my country; and I doubt not that you, equally confident of success, will feel convinced that it is only by repeated triumphs in *even combat*, that you can console your country for the loss of that trade it can no longer protect. Favour me with a speedy reply; we are short of provisions and water, and cannot remain long here."—JAMES, vi. 199.

victors on their return, with their prisoners, to the harbour.

CHAP.
XCI.

1813.

Meanwhile, Captain Broke at the mast-head was anxiously watching the movements of the American frigate, and beheld with a thrill of delight, such as the brave only can know, first her fore-topsail, then her other topsails loosed and sheeted home, and soon after a signal gun fired, the topgallant sails loosed and set, and at length the vessel under weigh, and standing out with a light air for the bay. The order to clear for action was immediately given on board the Shannon, and as promptly obeyed; and soon the two vessels neared, the Shannon clewing up her foresail, and with her main-top-sail braced flat, under a light breeze from the shore, that the Chesapeake might overtake her. The American came gallantly down with three flags flying, on one of which was inscribed, "Sailors' rights and free trade." The Shannon had a union-jack at the fore-mast, and an old rusty blue ensign at the mizzen peak, and two other ensigns rolled up and ready to be hoisted, if either of these should be shot away. Her heavy guns were loaded alternately with two round shot and a hundred and fifty musket-balls, and with one round and one double-headed shot in each gun. At a quarter to six the enemy hauled up within two hundred yards of the Shannon's weather beam, and her crew gave three cheers. Captain Broke thereupon harangued his men, telling them that that day would decide the superiority of British seamen, when properly trained, over those of all other nations; and that the Shannon would show how soon the boasting of the Americans would be put an end to when they were opposed to an equal force. Loud cheers followed this gallant appeal; and the two ships being now not more than a stone-throw asunder, the order was given to the crew of the Shannon to commence firing.¹

38.
Approach of
the two ves-
sels.
June 1.

¹ James, ii.
202. Cooper,
ii. 287.

Slowly, and with deliberate aim, the British guns were pointed and discharged successively at the American frigate as she passed, receiving, at the same time, her broadside, which was delivered at once, and with great effect. But the Shannon's guns, admirably directed, soon injured the Chesapeake's rigging, as well as made dreadful havoc among her men; and after two or three broad-

39.
The Chesa-
peake is
boarded.

CHAP.
XCI.
1813.

¹ James, ii.
202, 203.
Brent. ii. 491.
Cooper, ii.
287. Captain
Broke's
Desp. Ann.
Reg. 1812,
185. App.
to Chron.

40.
Desperate
conflict by
which she
was carried.

sides had in this manner been exchanged, the Chesapeake, attempting to haul her foresail up, fell on board the Shannon, whose starboard bower-anchor locked with her mizzen channels. In this situation the great guns ceased firing, except the Shannon's two aftermost guns, thirty-two pounder carronades, loaded with grape and round shot, which soon beat in the sternports of the Chesapeake, and, sweeping the deck, drove the men from their quarters. For a few minutes a sharp fire of musketry was kept up by the marines on both sides; but ere long Captain Broke, observing that the Americans were not standing to their guns, ordered the two ships to be lashed together, and the boarders to be called up from below. Mr Stevens, the Shannon's boatswain, a veteran who had fought in Rodney's action, immediately set about making the ships fast, outside the Shannon's bulwark; and while so employed, he had his left arm, which held on to the enemy's rigging, hacked off by repeated sabre cuts from their marines, and his body mortally wounded with musketry from the tops; but, in spite of all, he had fastened the ships together with the right arm ere his hold relaxed in death!—a deed of heroism worthy of ancient Rome.¹ *

Meanwhile, however, the brave Captain Lawrence and several other officers in the Chesapeake were wounded, and Captain Broke, at the head of the boarders, leapt upon the Chesapeake's quarterdeck, on which scarcely an American was to be seen. The men quickly following, the seamen on the gangways, twenty-five in number, were, after a desperate struggle, overpowered or driven below; and the second party of boarders having now come forward amidst loud cheers, the hatchways were closed down, and a sharp fire opened upon the marines in the tops, who kept up a destructive discharge of musketry. The sailors from the Shannon's fore-yard, headed by Mr Smith, at the same time forced their way up to the Chesapeake's main-yard, and thence to her tops,

* A well-known parallel incident occurred in the history of ancient Greece. "Cynægiri, militis Atheniensis, gloria magnis scriptorum laudibus celebrata est; qui, post prælii Marathonii innumeras cædes, quum fugientes hostes ad naves egisset, onustam navem dextrâ manu tenuit, nec prius dimisit quàm manum amitteret: tum quoquè amputatâ dextrâ, navem sinistrâ comprehendit; quam et ipsam quum amisisset, ad postremum morsu navem detinuit." How identical is the heroic spirit in all ages!—CORNELIUS NEPOS.

which in a few minutes were cleared. Captain Broke at this moment was furiously assailed by three American sailors, who had previously submitted; he succeeded in parrying a thrust at his breast, but was immediately after knocked down by the butt-end of a musket. As he rose, he had the satisfaction of seeing, in his own words, "the American flag hauled down, and the proud old British Union floating triumphantly over it." So rapid was the action, that fifteen minutes only elapsed from the time the first gun was fired, till the Chesapeake was entirely in the hands of the British. Unhappily, Lieutenant Watt, who hauled down the enemy's colours, not having immediately succeeded in hoisting the British above it, was killed, with two of his men, by a discharge of musketry from the Shannon's marines, in the belief that the conflict still continued. Yet, in this short period, the Chesapeake had sustained a loss of forty-seven killed and ninety-eight wounded—a dreadful proof of the admirable training in the use of their arms, both small and great, which the Shannon's people had received. The loss of the victor had also been severe: it amounted to twenty-four killed and fifty-nine wounded.¹

CHAP.
XCI.

1813.

¹ Cooper, ii.
289, 290.
Brenton, ii.
492, 493.
James, vi.
202, 205.
Captain
Broke's Desp.
Ann. Reg.
1812, 185.

Perhaps no single combat between vessels of war ever produced so great a moral impression as this did, both in the United States and the British islands. The Americans had fallen into the fault of the British, and begun to think themselves, from their extraordinary success, invincible in naval warfare; the English, unaccustomed to disasters at sea, had almost begun to fear that their long career of glory on the ocean was drawing to a close, when they sustained such repeated defeats from a maritime force so diminutive as that of the United States. Proportionally great was the despondency on one side and joy on the other, when the result of this action, where an approach to an equality for the first time obtained between the combatants, and due attention had been paid in both cases to their training, explained at once to what causes the former disasters had been owing.* The effect

41.
Great moral
effect of this
victory.

* Comparative force of the combatants.

		Shannon.	Chesapeake.
Broadside guns,	-	25	25
Weight in lbs.,	-	538	590
Crew, (men only,)	-	306	376

—JAMES, vi. 209.

CHAP.
XCI.
1813.

¹ Cooper, ii.
291, 293.
James, vi.
209.

42.
Combats of
lesser vessels.
The Boxer
and Enter-
prise, the
Pelican and
Argus.
Sept. 5.

Aug. 14.

² James, vi.
221, 223.
Brenton, ii.
495. Cooper,
ii. 308, 309.
Ann. Reg.
1813, 112.

in restoring public confidence in Great Britain in the efficiency of the navy was immense; and the feelings of every right-thinking man in the country went along with government when they made Captain Broke a baronet. The brave victor brought his prize, amidst the loud cheers of the inhabitants and sailors in the harbour, who manned every spar of their vessels, into Halifax, where Captain Lawrence soon after breathed his last, and was buried with military honours in presence of all the British officers on the station, who uncovered as their noble antagonist was lowered into the grave.¹

No long period elapsed before it appeared from other detached combats, of which alone this naval warfare admitted, that the old superiority of the British navy remained unimpaired. The British brig Boxer, of fourteen guns and sixty-six men, was indeed taken by the American brig Enterprise, of sixteen guns and one hundred and twenty men; the former defect of inadequate manning having paralysed all the efforts of devoted valour, which proved fatal to the commanders of both vessels, who were killed during its continuance. But on the next occasion, when any thing like equality of force existed, the result was in favour of the British. On the 14th August the Pelican, British brig of eighteen guns, met the American brig Argus of twenty; and as the crew of the latter was somewhat superior, and the broadside weight of metal a little in favour of the former, the combatants were very nearly matched.* The action soon became extremely warm; and before it had lasted many minutes, Captain Allen of the Argus was severely wounded, and the rigging of his vessel so much cut up that the command of it was lost. At length, after a gallant resistance, the Pelican succeeded in raking the Argus, and shortly after carried her by boarding. The Argus had six killed and eighteen wounded: the Pelican two killed and five wounded.² This action was the more

			Pelican.	Argus.
* Broadside guns,	-	-	9	10
Weight in lbs.,	-	-	262	228
Crew, (men only,)	-	-	101	122
Tons,	-	-	385	316

JAMES, vi. 223; and COOPER, ii. 308.

remarkable that it took place off St David's, in the mouth of the Irish Channel.

Various operations were undertaken this summer in the bay of Chesapeake by the British squadron, under the command of Sir John Borlase Warren, but they were not attended with any remarkable success. An attack on Craney Island, which the Americans had fortified, failed from the water being found too shallow, when the boats approached the shore, to admit of the troops being landed; but some gallant boat enterprises against schooners of the enemy had previously been successful. The British were consoled for this check by the victorious issue of an attack made by Sir Sidney Beckwith, with a strong body of marines, on an American post and battery at Hampton, which was quickly stormed two days after, and all its guns taken. Some acts of violence were committed on the inhabitants during the heat of the assault, which gave rise to much acrimonious feeling in the United States. Shortly after, two fine brigs, the *Anaconda* and *Atlas*, the former of ten, the latter of eighteen guns, were taken in Ocracoke harbour by the boats and marines of the squadron under Lieutenant Westphal. Captain Senhouse in the *Martin*, which had grounded in the Delaware, most gallantly beat off an attack by a cloud of American gunboats; and at length, when the tide rose, made off with one as his prize, to the great mortification of the crowd on shore, who had hastened to witness what they deemed a certain victory. The American squadron of frigates put to sea from New York, but was speedily pursued by the British fleet, of superior strength, and blockaded in New London. Upon the whole, although the operations in the Chesapeake and Delaware bays were not attended with any great results, yet they had the effect of completely destroying the trade of the most flourishing harbours in the United States; and sensibly demonstrated to the people the folly of the war in which they had engaged, in which, without the slightest hope of territorial aggrandisement, they were undergoing the realities of naval blockade, national insult, and commercial ruin.¹

The operations by land during the year 1813 were conducted on a greater scale than in the preceding cam-

CHAP
XCI.

1813.

43.

Naval operations in
Chesapeake
Bay.

June 24.

June 6.

July 13.

July 24.

¹ James, vi.
224, 239.
Ann. Reg.
1813, 184.
Cooper, ii.
312, 326.

CHAP.
XCI.

1813.

44.

Operations
by land, and
American
preparations
for the war.

Jan. 3.

March 6.

¹ Report to
Congress,
Jan. 28, 1813.
Ann. Reg.
1813, 178,
181. Cooper,
ii. 204, 205

paign, and though they terminated, upon the whole, gloriously for the British arms, yet the contest was more bloody, and success more various. The absorbing interest of the contest, yet doubtful and undecided, in the Peninsula, and the urgent necessity of sending off every sabre and bayonet that could be spared to feed the army of Wellington, rendered it a matter of impossibility to despatch an adequate force to the Canadian frontier, and compelled government, how reluctantly soever, to intrust the defence of those provinces mainly to the bravery and patriotism of their own inhabitants. Nor was the confidence reposed in vain ; although, as the Americans had now accumulated a considerable force on the frontier, the struggle was more violent, and victory alternated with disaster. The government at Washington had rushed into the contest wholly unprepared, alike by land and sea, to maintain it, and they had, in consequence, sustained nothing but disaster on the former element ; and if, on the latter, they met with extraordinary success, it was entirely owing to the hardihood and skill of their seamen, coupled with the dispersion of the British force, and the accidental ignorance of the English government of the structure and size of the American frigates. But the national passions were now roused in the United States, and great efforts were made to prosecute the war with vigour. It has been already noticed, that four additional ships of the line and four sloops were ordered to be built, and a loan of sixteen million dollars was contracted for, at seven and a-half per cent. And in order to excite the ardour of their own, and, if possible, shake the fidelity of British seamen, the war was justified, in an elaborate report presented by the committee of foreign relations to Congress, and approved of by them, entirely on the ground of the right claimed by the English government to search for and reclaim British subjects on board of American vessels. This they declared they were determined at all hazards to resist, should they stand alone in the contest ; “for to appeal to arms in defence of a right, and to lay them down without securing it, would be considered in no other light than as a relinquishment of it.”¹

The first operations of the campaign in Canada proved

singularly unfortunate to the Americans. In the end of January, General Winchester, with a thousand men, crossed over to attack Fort Detroit in the upper province, and, before any force could be assembled to resist him, made himself master of Frenchtown, twenty-six miles from that place. General Proctor, however, who commanded the British forces in that quarter, no sooner heard of this irruption, than he hastily assembled a body of five hundred regulars of the 41st regiment and militia, being the Glengarry Fencibles, and six hundred Indians, and commenced an attack upon the invaders two days afterwards with such vigour, that after a sharp action, in which Winchester lost three hundred men, he was obliged to capitulate, with thirty-two officers and five hundred men. Shortly after, Colonel M'Donnell, with two companies of the Glengarry Fencibles, and two of the 8th, converted a feigned attack, which he was ordered to make on Fort Ogdenburg, into a real one. The assault was made under circumstances of the utmost difficulty: deep snow impeded the assailants at every step, and the American marksmen, from behind their defences, kept up a very heavy fire; but the gallantry of the British overcame every obstacle, and the fort was carried, with eleven guns, all its stores, and two armed schooners in the harbour.¹

But a far more material success soon consoled the Americans for their reverses. By indefatigable exertions during the winter, they had augmented their naval force in Sackett's harbour so considerably, that the British squadron on Lake Ontario was no longer a match for them. Nor is this surprising: for the Americans built their ships at their own doors, with all their materials at hand; while the British, from the long export of timber to England, had not even wood in some places near the shores in abundance, and were obliged to bring all their naval stores from Great Britain. From this cause, it was computed that each gun, before it was launched on the lakes, had cost a thousand pounds. Encouraged by this circumstance, the Americans fitted out an expedition of seventeen hundred men, who sailed from Sackett's harbour on board fourteen armed vessels, and two days afterwards effected a landing, after a sharp con-

CHAP.
XCI.

1813.

45.

Invasion and
defeat of Ge-
neral Win-
chester, and
capture of
Ogdenburg.

Jan. 22.

¹ Ann. Reg.
1813, 179,
180. Arm-
strong's War
of 1812, i. 67,
86. Christie's
War in Can-
ada, 71, 73.

46.

Capture of
York, the
capital of
Upper
Canada.

April 27.

CHAP.
XCI.

1813.

flict, at the old fort of Toronto, three miles from York, the capital of Upper Canada. General Sheaffe commanded the British forces in that quarter; but he could only collect seven hundred regulars and militia, and a hundred Indians. With these, however, he made a stout resistance in the woods and thickets, in the course of which the grenadiers of the 8th regiment lost more than half their number. He was at last overpowered, and compelled to fall back to the town, which was not fortified; and at a short distance from it was a large magazine of powder, which exploded as the assailants were advancing to the attack. Two hundred of them, with General Pike their commander, were blown into the air by this catastrophe, and a few of the British; but the walls were thrown down by the shock, and the defences were no longer maintainable, while at the same time Chauncey, with his flotilla, had worked his way into the harbour. Sheaffe, therefore, wisely availed himself of the consternation produced among the Americans by the explosion, to effect his retreat in the direction of Kingston, with the whole regulars who remained unhurt, about four hundred in number. And though the enemy seized all the public stores that were left in the place, they re-embarked in such haste that they were all abandoned; and, by their own admission, the only trophies they brought away were "a stand of colours and a human scalp." The Americans, however, made three hundred of the militia prisoners, who were liberated on their parole; an equal number were killed and wounded on either side in the action; and the British sustained a severe loss in a large ship on the stocks, and extensive naval stores, which they were obliged to burn to prevent them from falling into the enemy's hands.¹

¹ Ann. Reg. 1813, 180.
Christie, 74,
75. Arm-
strong, i. 129,
132.

47.
Success at
the fords of
Miami.
April 26.

The American squadron, after this success, sailed away to Sackett's harbour for reinforcements, in order to prosecute their ulterior operations; and meanwhile Colonel Proctor, crossing Lake Erie, made a dash with nine hundred regulars and militia, and twelve hundred Indians, at General Harrison, who lay with his division near the rapids of the Miami, on the American side, in a position strengthened by blockhouses and batteries, which defied every attack made upon them. At this time two Ame-

rican regiments, eight hundred strong, under General Clay, approached to aid Harrison, and at first, by a sudden attack, carried part of the British batteries. Having incautiously followed up their success too far, however, these regiments were surrounded by the British and Indians, and after a desperate struggle totally defeated, with the loss of two hundred killed and wounded, and five hundred prisoners, while the English lost only fifteen killed and forty-five wounded.¹

CHAP
XCI.

1813.

May 5.

¹ Christie,
77, 78. Arm-
strong, i. 123,
125.

Meanwhile, a considerable reinforcement of sailors having reached the British side of Lake Ontario, the squadron on that lake, under their able and gallant officer Sir James Yeo, with seven hundred troops on board under Sir George Prevost, was enabled to put to sea from Kingston; and a combined attack by land and water was attempted on Sackett's harbour, the principal naval establishment of the enemy on that inland sea. The expedition excited great interest on both sides of the water, and the most sanguine hopes were entertained by the British, that it would lead to the destruction of this growing and formidable naval establishment of the enemy. These hopes, however, were disappointed. The troops landed, indeed, and after some sharp skirmishing advanced over a narrow isthmus, connecting the island on which they had landed with the mainland. Though the British were only seven hundred strong, and the Americans, in the absence of their main force, about twelve hundred; yet the whole American militia took to flight on the first discharge, and sought refuge in the loop-holed blockhouses, leaving the regulars, not more than four hundred strong, to sustain the combat. The militia rallied, however, in the strong blockhouses which commanded, by a cross-fire, the isthmus along which the troops were advancing, and the discharge they kept up was so tremendous, that the bravest of the British recoiled.²

48.

Repulse at
Sackett's
harbour.

May 28.

² Christie,
77, 79. Ann.
Reg. 1812,
182, 183.
Armstrong, i.
123, 147.

Prevost, then, with the utmost gallantry, advanced with his staff to encourage the men;* one of his

* The author has great pleasure in thus recording this decisive instance of personal gallantry on the part of Sir George Prevost, which he gives on the testimony of his brave and valued friends, Major-General Robert M'Dowall, celebrated for his gallant defence of Michilmackinac in the same war, who marshalled and led the troops to the last assault, and Sir Allan M'Nab, so well known for his heroic actions in Upper Canada, who were present on the occasion.

CHAP.
XCI.

1813.

49.

Gallant but
vain efforts
of Prevost.

officers fell dead by his side; but notwithstanding all his efforts, the strait could not be passed. Meanwhile, the utmost terror prevailed among the Americans in the rear: in the first moment of alarm their officers actually set fire to their naval storehouses, arsenal, and barracks, which were speedily consumed. While the flames were yet burning, however, Colonel Toottle, with a reinforcement of six hundred militia, was approaching the American works. The British were reduced to three hundred and fifty men, by the terrible discharges of grape and musketry which issued from them: they had not a single gun to beat down the palisades, or silence the enemies' cannon; and the fleet could not approach the shore to co-operate in the attack, owing to adverse winds. In these circumstances, ultimate success was hopeless, and, in fact, the capture of the place must have been immediately followed by the surrender of the handful of British who remained for the assault. Prevost, therefore, wisely drew off his forces and returned to the British shore, where he was immediately assailed with that vehement acrimony which, in that country, never fails to attend want of success, even when, from deficiency of force, it had been from the first unattainable.¹*

¹ Christie, 77,
79. Ann. Reg.
1812, 182,
183. Arm-
strong, i. 123,
147.

50.

Reduction of
Fort-George
by the Ame-
ricans.
May 27.

The principal American force on Lake Ontario, about six thousand strong, was at this juncture engaged in an attack on Fort George, at the western extremity of the lake. Early in the morning of the 27th May, a combined attack was made, both by the naval and military forces, on that stronghold; the former under the command of Commodore Chauncey, the latter led by General Dearborn. General Vincent, who commanded the British in that quarter, could not muster above nine hundred soldiers; but with this handful of men he made a most gallant resistance, until at length the works, especially on the lake front, being torn in pieces by the heavy cannonade, the British commander blew up the fort, and withdrew, with the loss of three hundred and fifty men,² to a strong position on Burlington heights, near

² Ann. Reg.
1813, 182,
183. Arm-
strong, i. 133,
135. Christie,
75, 76.

* This account of the attack on Sackett's harbour, which varies considerably from what is contained in the former editions of this work, is much indebted to the valuable information afforded by General M'Dowall, who was personally engaged with his wonted gallantry in the assault, to whom the author is happy to make this public acknowledgment.

the head of the lake, where he collected detachments from Chippewa, Fort Erie, and other points, and assembled about sixteen hundred troops, of which one-half were regular soldiers. After this success the Americans advanced to Queenstown, and being strongly reinforced, established themselves in a solid manner on the Niagara frontier, with nearly six thousand men.

CHAP.
XCI.
1813.

This was by far the most formidable lodgment which the Americans had effected in the Canadian territory, and it excited, in consequence, equal attention and alarm through the whole British possessions. General Dearborn now confidently anticipated their entire conquest at no distant period; and to dislodge Vincent from his position, which he held with only eleven hundred men, he pushed forward a body of three thousand infantry, two hundred and fifty horse, and nine guns. No sooner was the English general apprised of their approach, than he called a council of war, and, at the suggestion of Captain M'Dowall of the 8th, Sir George Prevost's aide-de-camp,* despatched seven hundred and fifty men, under Colonel Harvey, to retard their advance. This gallant officer finding, when he arrived near the enemy, that they kept a bad look-out, resolved on a nocturnal surprise. It was accordingly executed in the most brilliant style, as soon as it was dark, and with such success, that two generals and a hundred and fifty men were made prisoners, and four guns captured. After this check the enemy retreated to Fort George in great confusion. Having recovered from this disaster, Dearborn, a fortnight after, sent out an expedition of six hundred men to dislodge a British picket, which was posted at a place called Beavers' Dams, a few miles from Queenstown. They were soon beset on their road through the woods by Captain Kerr, with a small body of Indians, and Lieutenant Fitzgibbons, at the head of forty-six of the 49th regiment, not two hundred strong in all. But this little force was so skilfully disposed as to make the Americans believe they were the light troops of a very superior army, which in fact was approaching, though it had not come up. They surrendered in consequence, five hundred in number, with two guns and two

51.
The Americans are defeated at Stony Creek, Beavers Dams, and Black Rock.

June 8.

June 24.

* Now General Robert M'Dowall.

CHAP.
XCI.

1813.

July 11.
¹ Christie,
 81, 82, 85.
 Armstrong,
 i. 137, 151.
 Ann. Reg.
 1813, 182,
 183.

standards. Shortly after, a successful expedition was undertaken against the American fortified harbour of Black Rock on Lake Ontario, which was burned, with all its naval stores and vessels, by a British detachment under Colonel Bishop, who unfortunately fell in the moment of victory; while the British flotilla on Lake Champlain captured two armed schooners, of eleven guns each—a success of no small importance, in a warfare where so much depended on the command of those inland waters.¹

52.
 Blockade of
 Fort George,
 and repulse
 of Proctor at
 Sandusky.

These repeated disasters so disconcerted the Americans, that though their force at Fort George was still more than double that of the British who advanced against it, yet they kept cautiously within their lines, and submitted to be insulted by the English troops, who not only cooped them up within their walls, but actually advanced to within a few hundred yards of their guns. Prevost, however, wisely judged that it would be the height of imprudence to assault the Americans, driven to desperation, with half their number, in works bristling with cannon, and supported by the fire of Fort Niagara, on the other side of the river. As, therefore, no provocation could induce them to quit their lines, he left a force to maintain the blockade, and returned to Kingston. Meanwhile the war was vigorously prosecuted on Lake Erie by General Proctor, who invested the fort of Lower Sandusky on the Sandusky River, with five hundred regulars and militia, and above three thousand Indians. The works having been battered, Proctor led his troops to the assault. They crossed the glacis with great gallantry, though entirely deserted by their Indian allies, whom no consideration could induce to face the great guns, and were actually in the ditch, when the head of the column was smitten by such a fire of grape and musketry that they were driven back, and obliged to re-embark with the loss of a hundred killed and wounded, and he soon after raised the siege.²

Aug. 2.

² Christie,
 83, 84. Ann.
 Reg. 1813,
 186, 187.
 Armstrong,
 i. 164, 168.

These mutual injuries, though upon the whole highly favourable to the British arms, yet in truth decided nothing; it was on the lakes that the real blows were to be struck, and a decisive superiority acquired by the one party over the other. Events in the outset of this inland

naval warfare were highly favourable to the British arms. Strengthened by the two armed schooners, which had been taken on Lake Champlain, and which had been named the *Broke* and the *Shannon*, the English flotilla, with nine hundred men on board, stretched across the lake, took Plattsburg, which was evacuated by twelve hundred Americans without firing a shot, burned part of the naval stores, brought away the rest, and also destroyed the naval establishments at Burlington and Champlain. By these successes, a decisive superiority was acquired on Lake Champlain for the remainder of the campaign. Sir James Yeo also gained considerable successes on Lake Ontario, particularly on the 10th August, when he captured two schooners, and destroyed two others. But no decisive engagement took place on that inland sea, as neither party was sufficiently confident in his strength to risk the fate of the campaign by a general battle on its surface.¹

But while the campaign, both by land and water, was thus prosperous in the upper provinces, a dreadful disaster occurred on Lake Erie, which more than compensated all these advantages, and immediately exposed the British provinces in North America to imminent danger. This was the more alarming, that the force at the command of Sir George Prevost was so small as to be wholly inadequate to the defence of a frontier every where vulnerable, and above twelve hundred miles in length. Both parties had made the greatest efforts to augment their naval force on Lake Erie; but, owing to the superior facilities of the Americans for ship-building at their own doors, while the whole British naval stores had to come from England, the weight, as well as the number of their vessels, became soon superior to that of the British, while the total stoppage of their commerce gave them ample means for manning them with numerous crews of picked seamen. Captain Barclay, an officer inferior to none in the service of Great Britain for skill and gallantry, was appointed in May to the command of the squadron on the lake, and immediately entered on his unenviable duty, when the whole force was not equal to a British twenty-gun brig. The *Detroit*, however, was soon after launched, and fifty English seamen having been received

CHAP.
XCI.

1813.

53.

Success of
the British
on Lake
Champlain,
and at Platts-
burg.Aug. 10 and
11.

Aug. 28.

¹ Ann. Reg.

1813, 186,

187. Christie,

87, 91. Arm-

strong, i. 165,

166. James,

vi. 246.

54.

Defective
state of the
British flo-
tilla on Lake
Erie.

CHAP.
XCI.
1813.

¹ James, vi.
247, 249.
Armstrong,
i. 167, 168.

55.
Desperate
action on
Lake Erie,
and defeat of
the British.

Sept. 10.

and distributed through his ships, Barclay set out, early in September, with his little fleet, consisting of two ships, two schooners, a brig, and a sloop, carrying in all sixty-three guns. But there was not one British sailor to each gun; the rest of his crews being made up of two hundred and forty soldiers and eighty Canadians. On the other hand, the American squadron, of two more vessels and an equal number of guns, bore nearly double the weight of metal and number of hands; and possessed a still higher superiority, in their crews being all experienced seamen, to meet the wretched mixture of five landsmen to one sailor, who manned the British fleet.¹ *

Barclay, in the first instance, with this feeble force, blockaded the American flotilla in the harbour of Presqu' Isle, now Erie; which he could do with safety, notwithstanding his inferiority, as the Americans could not get their squadron over the bar in its front, except with the guns out, which of course prevented their attempting it in the face of an armed force. At length, however, their commodore, Captain Parry, adroitly seized the moment when Barclay was absent, and got outside the bar. The British commander upon this returned to Amherstburg, where he was soon blockaded by the American squadron; the former being busily engaged, meantime, in exercising the soldiers at the guns, and accustoming the Canadians to handle the ropes. Soon, however, provisions on that desolate shore fell short; and Barclay, deeming his crews a little more efficient, put to sea. An action ensued between the opposite squadrons, which for valour and resolution displayed on both sides never was surpassed. In the first instance, the Lawrence, which bore Commodore Parry's flag, was cut to pieces by the British guns: she became unmanageable; Parry shifted his flag on board the Niagara, and soon after the colours of the Lawrence were hauled down amidst loud cheers from the British squadron. After this, the firing ceased on both sides for a few

* Force of American and British squadrons.

	British.	American.
Ships, brigs, and schooners,	6	8
Broadside guns,	34	34
Weight of metal in lbs.,	459	928
Crews,	345	580
Tons,	1250	960

—JAMES, vi. 248, 249.

minutes, and a breeze at the same time having sprung up behind the Americans, Parry skilfully gained the weathergage, while the British vessels, in endeavouring to wear round to present a fresh broadside to their antagonists, fell, from the inexperience of the crews, into confusion, and for the most part got jammed together, with their bows facing the enemy's broadsides. So defective, too, was Barclay's equipment, that he had only one boat on board of his own vessel, the *Detroit*, and it was pierced with shot; he could not, in consequence, take possession of his prize; the *Lawrence* drifted out of fire, and her crew immediately rehoisted their colours. At the same time Parry took advantage of the weathergage which he had gained, to take a position with his remaining vessels which raked the principal British ships; while they, from the unskilfulness of their men, were unable to handle their ropes so as to extricate themselves from the danger. The result was, that after a furious engagement of three hours, the whole British vessels were taken; but not until they had become wholly unmanageable, nearly all the superior officers, including Barclay, being killed or desperately wounded, and they had lost forty-one killed, and ninety-four wounded, or above a third of the whole men on board the flotilla.¹

CHAP.
XCI.
1813.

¹ Cooper, ii.
447, 467.
James, vi.
247, 253.
Christie, 93,
94. Ann.
Reg. 1813,
187. Captain
Barclay's
Account.

The effects of this defeat were soon felt in the military operations. The Americans being now entirely masters of Lake Erie, had it in their power at once to intercept the whole coasting trade, by which Proctor's troops and Indians were supplied with provisions, and to land any force they chose in his rear, and entirely cut him off from Kingston and York. He was constrained, therefore, immediately to commence a retreat, abandoning and destroying all his fortified posts beyond the Grand River. Amherstburg and *Detroit*, accordingly, were immediately dismantled, and with the Indians under Tecumseh, who preserved an honourable fidelity in misfortune, the British commenced a retreat towards the river Thames. In this retrograde movement, however, they were immediately followed by Harrison, who was attended by Parry's squadron on the lake, while the British, almost starving, toiled through wretched roads and

56.
Retreat and
disaster of
General
Proctor.

Sept. 26.

- CHAP.
XCI.
1813.
Oct. 4. interminable forests. On the 4th October, Harrison came up with the British rear, and succeeded in capturing nearly all their stores. Unable to retreat further in any thing like military array, Proctor had now no alternative but to endeavour to check the enemy by a general battle; and for this purpose he took up a position at the Moravian village on the Thames. Here he was attacked next day by the Americans, with greatly superior forces. The Indians, though little inured to regular warfare, continued the contest with heroic courage, even after it had been given over by the whites; and only abandoned it when the day was irretrievably lost—their gallant chief, Tecumseh, and many of their bravest warriors, having fallen. The first line of the British was overthrown by a sudden charge of the Kentucky horse; and after a short combat they were totally defeated, with the loss of six hundred men—almost all made prisoners. The remainder dispersed in the woods, and after undergoing incredible hardships, reassembled at Ancaster at the head of Lake Ontario, to the number of only two hundred and forty.¹
- Oct. 5. On the same day on which this defeat was sustained upon the shores of Lake Erie, six schooners, having on board two hundred and fifty soldiers, proceeding from York to Kingston without convoy, were captured on Lake Ontario. These repeated losses, coupled with the alarming intelligence received at the same time of great preparations for a general invasion of Lower Canada, made Sir George Prevost wisely determine it to be impossible to continue any longer the investment of Fort George; and the siege was accordingly raised a few days after. Though the British force at this point was so much weakened by sickness that not a thousand firelocks, out of three thousand, could be brought into action, yet the retreat was conducted with perfect order; and the troops were concentrated in a strong position on Burlington heights, where they were soon after joined by the fugitives from Proctor's detachment, and succeeded in mustering fifteen hundred bayonets. They showed so strong a front that the Americans did not venture to attack them, and this stemmed the torrent of disaster in that quarter. But by driving the British from the territory to the westward of the river Thames, the Americans had in a great degree cut them off from their Indian allies,² with whom they now could maintain no communication but by the distant and
- ¹ Christie, 96, 97. Ann. Reg. 1813, 188. Prevost's Official Account, 30, 1813. App. to Chron. 221. Armstrong, i. 170, 174.
57. Disaster on Lake Ontario, and raising of the siege of Fort George.
- Oct. 9.
- ² Christie, 97, 98. Armstrong, i. 170, 175. Ann. Reg. 1813, 189.

now isolated fort of Michilmackinac, on Lake Huron ; an advantage of no small moment for the future progress of the war.

CHAP.
XCI.
1813.

The Americans were so elated with these successes, that they openly announced their intention of forthwith conquering Lower Canada, and taking up their winter quarters at Montreal. Nor were their preparations and forces, if the numerical amount of their troops is alone considered, at all inadequate to such an undertaking. Their generals, abandoning for the time their operations in Upper Canada, transported all their forces by Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, so as to take part in the grand combined attack on the lower province. With this view they concentrated the great bulk of their army at Sackett's harbour ; and their troops were much more formidable than on any former occasion, for they amounted in all to eighteen thousand regular soldiers and ten thousand militia, organised into three divisions. That on Lake Erie amounted to eight thousand, under Harrison ; Wilkinson had ten thousand at Sackett's harbour, and Hampton four thousand, and as many militia, on the Chateauguay river, near Lake Champlain. Threatened by so many enemies, Sir George Prevost issued an animated proclamation to the Canadians, and put the militia of the lower province on permanent duty. It will immediately appear how nobly they answered the appeal.¹

58.
Preparations
for a grand
invasion of
Canada.

¹ Ann. Reg.
189 ; and
Gen. Prevost's Desp.
Oct. 1813.
App. to
Chron. 217.
Christie, 99,
100.

Hampton, with the right wing of the army of invasion, was the first to take the field. Early on the 21st October he crossed the frontier, at the junction of the Chateauguay and Outard rivers ; but though he had four thousand effective infantry, two thousand militia, and ten guns, he was so vigorously and gallantly resisted by the voltigeurs and frontier light infantry of the Canadians, not six hundred in number, under Colonel De Salavary, who fought with the steadiness of veteran soldiers in their woods, that after three days' desultory fighting, he was driven with disgrace back into the American territory, pursued and harassed by the Canadian militia. His troops were so discouraged by these reverses, that they became incapable of taking any further part in the campaign. Meanwhile Wilkinson, with the centre of the invading force, about ten thousand strong, left Sackett's

59.
Defeat of the
invasion of
Lower Canada.
Oct. 21.

Oct. 25.

CHAP.
XCI.
1813.
Oct. 26.

Nov. 3.

Nov. 11.
Nov. 17.
1 Morrison's
Official Ac-
count, Nov.
12, 1813.
Ann. Reg.
1813, 235.
App. to
Chron.
Christie, 105,
108. Arm-
strong, ii. 8,
18.

60.
Gallant de-
fence of fort
Michilmac-
kinac by Col.
M'Dowall.

harbour, and crossing Lake Ontario, mustered his troops in the end of October in Grenadier island, opposite Kingston, where General De Rottenburg lay awaiting his attack. Having delayed till the principal forces of the upper province were concentrated around that great depot, the American general skilfully shifted his line of attack, and embarking his troops on board three hundred boats, escorted by Chauncey, reached the lower end of the lake, and dropping down the St Lawrence, landed on the 3d November near Point Iroquois. No sooner was the British general apprised of this circumstance than he detached Colonel Morrison, with eight hundred regulars and militia, to follow the motions of the fleet, and oppose them wherever they attempted a landing. Morrison came up with the enemy near Chrystler's Point, twenty miles above Cornwall, in number about three thousand, who had landed from their boats; and a violent encounter ensued. The Americans were unable, however, to bear the attack of the British bayonet: they broke and fled in disorder before the detachments of the 48th, 49th, and 89th, supported by the militia, and lost one gun and two hundred and fifty killed and wounded. Disconcerted by this defeat, Wilkinson re-embarked his troops; and having received at the same time accounts of Hampton's failure, he deemed the attack on Lower Canada hopeless, landed the men on the American shore, and put them into winter quarters.¹

A most gallant, and in its consequences very important, military event took place next year in the defence of the Fort Michilmackinac by a small British detachment under the command of Colonel Robert M'Dowall. This gallant officer had been left in command of this important fort, situated on Lake Huron, which commands, as already mentioned, the communication between the British provinces and the Indians on the west of the Lake Michigan. To ensure its reduction, three different expeditions were set on foot by the Americans at the same time, in spring 1814; one from Fort Louis on the Mississippi, one from Detroit, and one from Chicuco. M'Dowall had under his command only two hundred and thirty-two men, of whom sixty were Canadian militia, and a hundred Indians. Out of this diminutive force he fitted

out a small body, about a hundred strong, under the command of Major Mackay of the Canadian militia, who succeeded, by extraordinary gallantry, in wresting from the enemy about five hundred miles of territory to the westward, and advancing the British standards to the Mississippi, where they captured, and maintained themselves in, a fort erected by the Americans. But, during their absence, the American cruising squadron, consisting of two ships of twenty-six guns each, and several large schooners and small boats, hove in sight, under Commodore Sinclair, having upwards of nine hundred land troops on board. To oppose this force M'Dowall had now only one hundred and fifty men; but such was the ability of the dispositions which he made, that the enemy were worsted in several encounters, and driven back to their ships. And although reduced to great extremities by a long-continued blockade from the hostile squadron, he held out until Lieutenant Worsley succeeded, at the head of four of the garrison boats, in boarding and capturing, during the night, the two schooners which maintained the blockade; and the British having thus got the command of the lake, the Americans were obliged to raise the siege and abandon their enterprise.¹

This glorious defeat of an invasion so confidently announced and strongly supported, diffused the most heartfelt joy in Lower Canada, and terminated the campaign there in the most triumphant manner; but it was immediately followed by successes equally decisive in the upper province. All causes of apprehension for Montreal and the lower province being now removed, a strong body of troops was despatched under Colonel Murray from Kingston to repel the invasion of Upper Canada, and, if possible, clear that province of the enemy. They set out from Kingston, accordingly, and advanced towards Fort George, with a view to resume the investment, even amidst all the severities of a Canadian winter. The American general, however, did not await their approach, but precipitately evacuated that fort, and retreated across the Niagara, but not without having, by express orders, reduced the flourishing village of Newark to ashes.*

* " " The post of Fort George, not being tenable against the enemy, must be abandoned, the garrison removed to Fort Niagara, and the exposed part of the frontier protected, by destroying such of the Canadian villages in its front as

CHAP.
XCI.

1813.

July 25, 1814.

¹ Personal information. Christie, 167 Armstrong, ii. 24.

61.

Total defeat of the enemy in Upper Canada, and evacuation of Fort George.

Dec. 12.

CHAP.
XCI.
1813.

Dec. 18.

¹ Christie,
110, 111.
Armstrong,
ii. 19, 20.
Ann. Reg.
1814, 176,
177.

62.
Defeat of
Hull, and
burning of
Buffalo.
Dec. 28.

Jan. 12, 1814.
² Christie,
111, 112.
Armstrong,
ii. 19, 23.
Ann. Reg.
1814, 176,
177.

Such was the indignation excited in the breasts, equally of the British soldiers and the Canadian militia, by this inhuman act, which at once reduced above four hundred human beings to total destitution, amidst the horrors of a Canadian winter, that Colonel Murray resolved to take advantage of it to carry Fort Niagara, on the frontier of the United States. A detachment of five hundred men, accordingly, under the command of Murray, crossed the river Niagara in boats, and succeeded in surprising the fort, with the loss only of five killed and three wounded. The garrison, nearly four hundred strong, with three thousand stand of arms and vast military stores, fell into the hands of the victors. Immediately after this success, the troops attacked a body of Americans, who had erected a battery opposite Queenstown, from which they were discharging red-hot shot at that town, defeated them, and carried the fort.¹

Still following up these successes, General Drummond, with eight hundred men, crossed the Niagara to Black Rock, which was stormed, and the fugitives pursued to Buffalo, a few miles distant, where they rallied on a body of two thousand men who had assembled, under Hull, to defend that rising town. Such, however, was the vigour of the British attack, that the Americans were speedily routed with the loss of four hundred, while the victors were not weakened by more than a fourth of the number. Buffalo was immediately taken and burned: all the naval establishments there and at Black Rock were destroyed; while the Indians, let loose on the surrounding country, took ample vengeance for the conflagration of Newark, which had commenced this savage species of warfare. Though it had the desired effect, however, by making the Americans feel the consequences of their actions, of putting a stop to this barbarous system of hostilities, yet it was so much at variance with the British method of carrying on war, and so shocking to the feelings, both of the officers and men engaged in it,² that Sir George Prevost, shortly after, issued a noble proclamation, lament-

would best shelter the enemy during winter.' Such were the orders of government. This new and degrading system of defence, which, by substituting the torch for the bayonet, furnished the enemy with both motive and justification for a war of retaliation, was carried into full execution on the 10th December. Newark was reduced to ashes, and orders were given to fire hot shot on Queens-town."—ARMSTRONG, (*the American Secretary-at-War*,) i. 20.

ing the stern necessity under which he had acted in permitting these reprisals, and earnestly deprecating any further continuance of so inhuman a species of warfare.

CHAP.
XCI.

1813.

This terminated the campaign of 1813 in Canada, and though not unchecked by disaster, yet was it upon the whole eminently glorious, both to the arms of Britain and to the inhabitants of her noble American colonies. The superiority of the enemy, both in troops and all the muniments of war, was very great: twenty thousand regular soldiers, besides as many militia, were at their disposal; the vessels built on the lakes were at their own door, armed from their own arsenals, and manned by the picked men of their commercial marine, now thrown almost utterly idle. On the other hand, the whole British force did not exceed *three thousand* regular soldiers,* who were charged with the defence of a frontier nearly a thousand miles in length; and although they were supported by thirty thousand gallant militia, yet these troops could not be moved far from home, or kept embodied for any considerable length of time; and they could not be relied on, except in small bodies, for offensive operations. The British naval force on the Lakes required to bring every gun, and great part of its naval stores, from Great Britain, a distance of three thousand five hundred miles; and the government could with difficulty spare, from the wants of a navy which was spread over the globe, even a handful of sailors for this remote inland service. And by a strange infatuation, the result evidently of ignorance or undue estimate of their enemies on the part of the British government, scarcely any effort was made to enrol, among the numerous and skilful seamen of the coast of North America, such a force as would with ease and certainty have secured for them the command of the Lakes.

³
General re-
sult of the
campaign.

To have repelled all the efforts of the Americans in such circumstances, and with such forces, is of itself distinction; but it becomes doubly glorious when it is recollected, that this distant warfare took place during the crisis of the contest in Europe, at the close of a

* "Throughout the campaign, Prevost's regular force, covering a frontier of nine hundred miles from the Sorel to Fort St Joseph, did not exceed three thousand men."—ARMSTRONG, (*the American Secretary-at-War*,) i. 113.

CHAP.
XCI.

1814.

64.

Its honour-
able charac-
ter to Sir G.
Prevost.

twenty years' war, when every sabre and bayonet which could be spared was required for the devouring Peninsular campaigns, and when eleven millions sterling were sent in subsidies, in that one year, from Great Britain to the German and other Continental powers. The wisdom of the measures adopted by Sir George Prevost, the vigour with which attack at all points was repelled, and the imposing celerity with which a cautious defensive was converted, at its close, into a vigorous offensive warfare, can never be sufficiently praised, and justly place this campaign on a level with any in the long annals of British glory. If these considerations be duly weighed, it must appear evident, especially when the vast subsequent increase in the British population of Upper Canada is taken into consideration, that if the affections of our North American possessions are secured by a just system of colonial administration, Great Britain has now no reason to apprehend danger from the utmost efforts of the United States.

65.
Capture of
the Essex by
the Phœbe.

Feb. 28.

The naval operations of the year 1814 commenced with a successful attack on the American frigate Essex by the British frigate Phœbe, supported by the Cherub brig. The Essex, under Captain Porter, had set out in the autumn preceding, on a cruise to the South Seas; and after having made some valuable captures, was at length overtaken with two of her prizes, one of which she had armed with twenty guns, and manned with ninety-five men, in the roads of Valparaiso on the 9th February. After a close blockade of three weeks, during which various attempts to escape were made, the British commander, Captain Hillyar, succeeded in bringing the Essex to action in the roads of Valparaiso before she could get back to the harbour, and without the aid of her lesser consort. This unequal combat, however, was maintained for forty minutes, by Captain Porter, with the utmost gallantry; the crews on both sides were strongly excited; the Americans having the motto flying, "Free trade and sailors' rights;" the British, "God and our country—traitors offend both." Early in the action the Phœbe received a shot in her rigging, which for a short time deprived her crew of the management of the vessel, so that she dropped almost out of shot; but the mischief

being shortly repaired, the action was renewed; and as the Cherub raked the Essex while the Phœbe exchanged broadsides with her, both firing with great precision, the carnage on board the American vessel was soon frightful. Twice she took fire; and at length Captain Porter, having exhausted every means of defence, and sustained a loss of sixty-nine men, of whom twenty-four were killed, was compelled to lower his colours. The loss on the side of the British was very trifling, being five killed and two wounded; a fact which sufficiently proves the inequality of the combat, though it had been managed with the greatest skill by the British commander. Nearly a hundred British sailors were on board the American vessel when the engagement commenced, who jumped overboard when it appeared likely she would be taken; forty of these reached the shore, thirty-one were drowned, and sixteen were picked up when at the point of perishing.¹

CHAP.
XCI.

1814.

¹ James, vi.
285, 286.
Captain
Hillyar's
Account,
March 30,
1814. Ann.
Reg. 1814,
179. App.
to Chron.
Cooper, ii.
262, 269.

Early in February the American sloop Frolic, pierced nominally for eighteen guns, but really carrying twenty-two, was captured, after two shots only had been fired, by the British frigate Orpheus of thirty-six guns. The Epervier British sloop of eighteen guns, however, was soon after taken by the American sloop Peacock of twenty-two; and on the 28th June, a most desperate combat took place between the British sloop, Reindeer, of eighteen guns, and the American sloop Wasp. The preponderance of force was here in a most extraordinary degree in favour of the Americans;* but notwithstanding this advantage, Captain Manners of the Reindeer, one of the bravest officers who ever trode a quarter-deck, the moment he got sight of the American vessel, gave chase; and as soon as it was evident to the American captain that he was pursued by the Reindeer alone, he hove to, and the action commenced. Never were vessels more gallantly commanded and fought on both sides. The engagement lasted, yard-arm to yard-arm, for half an hour, at the end of which time the Reindeer was so disabled, that she fell with her

66.
The Frolic
taken by the
Orpheus, and
the Reindeer
by the Wasp.

	Reindeer.	Wasp.
* Broadside guns, . . .	9	11
Weight of metal—lbs., . . .	189	338
Crew,—men only, . . .	98	173
Tons, . . .	385	539

—JAMES, VI. 296.

CHAP.
XCI.
1814.

bow against the larboard quarter of the Wasp. The latter instantly raked her with dreadful effect; and the American riflemen, from the tops, picked off almost all the officers and men on the British deck. But Captain Manners then showed himself indeed a hero. Early in the action the calves of his legs had been shot away, but he still kept the deck: at this time a grape-shot passed through both his thighs, but though brought for a moment on his knees, he instantly sprang up, and though bleeding profusely, not only refused to quit the deck, but exclaiming, "Follow me, my boys; we must board!" sprang into the rigging of the Reindeer, intending to leap into that of the Wasp. At this moment, two balls from the American tops pierced his skull, and came out below his chin. With dying hand he waved his sword above his head, and exclaiming, "O God!" fell lifeless on the deck. The Americans immediately after carried the British vessel by boarding, where hardly an unwounded man remained; and so shattered was she in her hull, that she was immediately after burned by the victors. Never will the British empire be endangered while the spirit of Captain Manners survives in its defenders.^{1*}

¹ James, vi.
294, 295.
Cooper, ii.
232, 235.

67.
Action be-
tween the
President and
the Endymion.
Jan. 14.

An action more prosperous, but not more glorious for the British arms, than that between the Reindeer and Wasp, took place next spring, which terminated in the capture of the noble American frigate President, one of the largest vessels of that class in the world, by the Endymion, Captain Hope, slightly aided by the Pomona. On the 14th January 1815, the President and Macedonian brig set sail from New York on a cruise, and were shortly after chased by the British blockading squadron, consisting of the Majestic, fifty-six guns, the Endymion, forty, and Pomona, thirty-eight. Being evidently no match for so great a superiority of force, Commodore Decatur, who commanded the American vessels, endeavoured to get back; but he was intercepted, and chased for fifty miles along the coast of Long Island, in the course of which the

* The Wasp itself, with its gallant captain (Blakely) and crew, were in the same year lost during a cruise, and no trace of them was ever obtained. They had previously compelled the Avon, of 18 guns, to surrender, but not till the latter vessel was so cut to pieces that she sank immediately after. The Americans must allow the British empire to share with them the honours of the brave and skilful Captain Blakely, for he was born in Dublin.—COOPER, ii. 341; and JAMES, vi. 297, 299.

Tenedos, British frigate, also joined in the pursuit. Towards evening the *Endymion* gained rapidly on the American frigate, and opened a fire with her bow-chasers, which was vigorously returned by the *President* from her stern guns. Meanwhile, the *Majestic* and *Pomona* fell behind out of gunshot. At length the *Endymion* gained so much on the American, as to permit her first broadside guns to begin to bear, and a close running fight ensued; the two vessels sailing under easy way, within half-musket-shot distance. Commodore Decatur suffered so severely, especially in his rigging, under their fire, that he took the gallant resolution of laying himself alongside the *Endymion*, with the view of carrying her by boarding, and going off with his prize, leaving his own crippled vessel to the enemy, before the other British ships could get up.¹

CHAP.
XCI.
1813.

¹ Captain
Hayes'
Official
Account,
Ann. Reg.
1814. App.
to Chron.
139. Cooper,
ii. 538, 545.
James, vi.
364, 367.
Brenton, ii.
538.

But the *Endymion* skilfully avoided this risk, which, with the enemy's great superiority of men, might have been serious, by keeping at a short distance, and preserving the advantage she had gained by a fire at half-gunshot range. Thus the fight continued for two hours longer, both vessels being most gallantly fought and skilfully handled. At the end of that time the *Endymion*'s sails were so much cut away by the American bar-shot, that she fell astern, and the *Pomona* coming up, gave the *President* two broadsides with little or no effect, owing to the darkness of the night. But this circumstance saved the American's honour, as two vessels had now opened their fire upon him; and he accordingly hauled down his colours, and was taken possession of by the boats of the *Pomona*. In this long and close cannonade, the *President* lost thirty-five men killed and seventy-six wounded: the *Endymion* ten killed and twelve wounded; but her upper rigging, at which the enemy chiefly aimed, was very much cut away. This action was one of the most honourable ever fought by the British navy, and in none was more skilful seamanship displayed; for although at the close of the action the *Pomona* came up, yet during its continuance the superiority was strongly on the side of the *President*.¹ When she struck, there were no less than one hundred and eighty British seamen found in her crew, the greater part of whom had fought under English

68.
Capture of
the former by
the British.

¹ James, v.
366, 367.
Captain
Hayes'
Official
Account,
Jan. 17.
Ann. Reg.
1815, 139.
App. to
Chron.
Cooper, ii.
542, 544.

CHAP.
XCI.

1814.

69.

Lesser
actions,
which closed
the war.

March 23.

June 30.

colours in the Macedonian, and been since enticed, in moments of intoxication, into the service of their enemies.*

This was the last action between frigates that occurred during the war; but several lesser combats ensued, honourable alike to the sailors and officers of both nations. Let it not be said these combats were trivial occurrences: nothing is trivial which touches the national honour. Napoleon felt this at the battle of Maida, albeit not more momentous to his colossal power than the capture of a sloop to Great Britain. The superiority of her navy is an affair of life or death to England: when her people cease to think so, the last hour of her national existence has struck. On the 23d March, long after peace had been signed, the *Hornet* met the *Penguin*, and a furious conflict ensued, both commanders being ignorant of the termination of hostilities. Both vessels were of equal size and weight of metal, but the American had the advantage in the number and composition of her crew;† and after a desperate conflict, in the course of which the brave Captain Dickinson of the *Penguin* was slain in the very act of attempting to board, the British vessel surrendered, having lost a third of her crew killed and wounded. The *Hornet* was shortly after chased by the *Cornwallis*, of seventy-four guns, and only escaped into New York by throwing all her guns overboard. Lastly, the American brig *Peacock*, of twenty-four guns, fell in with the British East India Company's cruiser, the *Nautilus*, of fourteen guns, which was of course captured after a few broadsides, although the British commander assured the American that peace had been signed. Thus terminated at sea this memorable contest, in which the English, for the first time for a cen-

	Endymion.	President
* Broadside guns,	24	28
Weight of metal in lbs.,	664	852
Crew,—men only,	319	466
Tons,	1277	1533

—JAMES, vi. 367.

In justice to the Americans, however, it must be observed, that as they were chased by other vessels besides the *Endymion*, though they had not yet come up, they could not venture to range up alongside, when their great superiority in guns and metal might have been most effectually brought into play.

	Men.	Boys.	Total.
† <i>Hornet</i> ,	163	2	165
<i>Penguin</i> ,	105	17	122

—JAMES, vi. 385, 386.

ture and a half, met with equal antagonists on their own element; and in recounting which, the British historian, at a loss whether to admire most the devoted heroism of his own countrymen or the gallant bearing of their foes, feels almost equally warmed in narrating either side of the strife; and is inclined, like the English sailors who were prisoners in the hold of the French vessel that combated in the bay of Algesiras,* to cheer with every broadside which came in, for it was delivered, in descent at least, from English hands.¹

At the beginning of 1814, the long continuance of the war, the total destruction of the American trade, and blockade of their harbours, and the evident hopelessness of the contest at land, after the pacification of the European continent had enabled Great Britain to send its victorious troops to the fields of transatlantic warfare, increased to a very great degree the discontent of that large party in the United States who had throughout opposed the contest. Indeed, it rose to such a pitch as, in two of the northern states, had influence sufficient to prevent their sending their contingents of armed men to carry it on. The blockade of their harbours, and stoppage of their trade, had almost entirely ruined the American customs, the only source of revenue, except the sale of waste lands, which their government had hitherto had to rely on; and from sheer necessity Congress was driven to lay on a great variety of new taxes on excisable articles, to supply the alarming deficiency of the public revenue. These taxes were laid on wine licenses, licenses to distil spirituous liquors, on sales by auction of merchandise, ships and vessels, on sugars refined in the United States, bank notes, and stamps for bills of exchange, and on imported salt. They were to continue during the whole period of the war, and for a year after its termination. A further loan of seven million five hundred thousand dollars was negotiated in August 1813, for the service of that year and the first quarter of the next. Thus the Americans, under the pressure of warlike necessity, were fast gliding into the long-established system of taxation in the European States, and losing the peculiar advantage they had hitherto enjoyed,² of being

CHAP.
XCI.

1814.

¹ James, vi.
385, 387.
Cooper, iv.
551, 554.
Ann. Reg.
1813, 185,
and 1814,
174, 179.

70.

Financial
measures of
the American
government.

Aug. 24,
1813.

² Armstrong,
i. 271.

* *Ante*, Chap. xxxiv. § 56.

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XCI.

1814.

71.

Repeal of the
Non-importation Act.

March 31.

April 16.

April 25.

June 20.

¹ Ann. Reg.
1814, 179,
181.72.
Symptoms of
a breaking up
of the Union.
Jan. 12.

placed beyond the hostility of the Old World, and consequently relieved from its burdens.

It may readily be imagined that these direct or excise taxes, to which they had hitherto been wholly unaccustomed, did not increase the popularity of the war in the United States; the more especially after the evident approach of a termination to the European struggle left the contest equally without an object as without hope. To such a height did these discontents rise, even among the democratic party, who had hitherto been the most violent supporters of the war, that government was obliged to do something indicating a disposition to recede from the inveterate system of hostility which they had hitherto pursued. In the end of March, a message from the President to Congress recommended the repeal of the non-importation act; and in pursuance of the recommendation a bill soon after passed both houses, by a large majority, repealing both the embargo and non-importation acts. This decisive approach to pacific measures awakened sanguine hopes throughout the Union of reviving trade and a speedy termination of hostilities; but they were soon undeceived by a proclamation by the British government, which declared the ports north of New York, as well as those to the southward, in a state of blockade. In answer to this, the American government issued a counter proclamation, in which, after setting forth that a blockade of a coast two thousand miles in length was an unwarrantable stretch and could not be enforced, ordered all vessels, whether national or privateers, bearing the flag of the United States, to pay no regard to such blockade, and not to molest any vessels belonging to neutral powers bound for any harbour in the United States.¹

But the discontents of the Northern States had now risen to such a height as seriously threatened the dissolution of the Union. The two states of Massachusetts and New Hampshire continued to refuse to send their contingents to the army; and the governor of the former state thus addressed the State Legislature in the beginning of the year:—"If our conduct to both belligerents had been really impartial, all the calamities of war might have been avoided. We had assumed the character of a

neutral nation ; but had we not violated the duties imposed by that character ? Had not every subject of complaint against one belligerent been amply displayed, and those against the other palliated or concealed ? When France and England were engaged in an arduous struggle, and we interfered and assaulted one of them, will any man doubt our intention to assist the other ?”

At a subsequent period of the same year, the state of Massachusetts took still more decisive measures. Openly asserting their inherent right to frame a new constitution, they resolved to “appoint delegates to confer with delegates from New England on the subject of their grievances and common concerns, and to take measures, if they think proper, for procuring a convention of delegates from all the United States to revise the constitution.” These propositions were the more alarming, that the general discontent was much increased by the vast augmentation of the taxes, which were progressively swelled to the end of the year, and had already arisen to the most alarming amount. The indirect taxes were advanced fifty per cent, the tax on auctions was doubled, and many new imposts were added, expected to produce eleven or twelve millions of dollars, or about two million five hundred thousand pounds. And with all these aids, so low had the credit and resources of the treasury fallen, that the government could not negotiate a loan ; and were driven to the necessity of issuing treasury notes to a large amount, which were to bear interest like English Exchequer bills, and supply the want of a circulating medium in the States.¹

The greatest exertions were made during the winter in Canada, to augment the efficient military force of the provinces, and prepare in the most vigorous manner for the ensuing campaign. The Houses of Assembly warmly seconded the efforts of the British ; thanks were unanimously voted to Colonel De Salavary and the other officers who had distinguished themselves during the preceding campaign ; the embodied or regular militia was augmented to four thousand men, besides the voltigeur and frontier corps, which numbered as many more ; and considerable sums were voted by the chief towns to expedite the transmission of the troops. In March, a

CHAP.
XCI.

1814.

Dec. 13.

¹ Ann. Reg.
1814, 178,
193.

73.

Preparations
in Canada,
and among
the Indians.

CHAP.
XCI.

1814.
March 15.

¹ Christie,
117, 122.

74.
Storming of
Fort Oswego,
and failure at
Sandy Creek.
March 30.

May 4.

May 31.
² Christie,
122, 129.
Ann. Reg.
1814, 149,
150. Arm-
strong, ii. 63,
74.

solemn embassy from the Indians waited on the governor at Quebec, to supplicate the powerful protection of Great Britain, in shielding them from the continual encroachments of the American states. "The Americans," said they, "are taking lands from us every day ; they have no hearts, father ; they have no pity for us, they want to drive us beyond the setting sun ; but we hope, although we are few, and are here as it were upon a little island, our great and mighty father, who lives beyond the great lake, will not forsake us in our distress, but will continue to remember his faithful red children." They received the strongest assurance of protection and support, and were sent back to their wilds loaded with presents, determined to avenge their beloved chief Tecumseh, and prosecute the war with redoubled vigour.¹

No material movement occurred on either side on the Canadian frontier till the end of March, when the American general, Wilkinson, on the extreme right on Lake Champlain, collecting a large force from Plattsburg and Burlington, attacked the Canadian outposts at La Cole Mill ; but he was repulsed with considerable loss, with very little injury to the British detachments. A more serious attempt was made, in Upper Canada, by Sir James Yeo and General Drummond, on Fort Oswego, situated on Lake Ontario. This fort was an important station, as it served as a resting-place and depot in the transit of military stores from Sackett's harbour, the grand arsenal on the lake, to its upper extremity in the neighbourhood of Niagara, where it was known the principal effort was to be made in the ensuing campaign. Three hundred seamen and marines were landed from the flotilla, who carried the place in gallant style, destroyed the barracks, carried off the stores, and brought away the guns. At this time the British had a superiority on Lake Ontario, though the Americans were assiduously labouring to augment their force ; and accordingly Sackett's harbour was closely blockaded, and an attempt was made by Captain Popham, who commanded the blockading squadron, to destroy the enemy's flotilla in Sandy Creek, which was conveying a considerable quantity of naval and military stores.² This onset, however, which was gallantly made with two hundred

seamen and marines, was repulsed with the loss of seventy men, in consequence of the assailants being suddenly attacked by forces three times more numerous, consisting of riflemen, militia, and Indians, the English prisoners being with difficulty rescued from the bloody tomahawks of the latter by their humane American enemies.

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XCI.
1814.

The American forces destined for the invasion of Upper Canada were concentrated in the neighbourhood of Buffalo, Black Rock, and other places on the Niagara frontier. Early in June, two strong brigades crossed over, under General Ripley, containing about five thousand men, and not only effected a landing without opposition, but succeeded in making themselves masters of Fort Erie, with its garrison of a hundred and seventy men, without firing a shot. Having thus gained one stronghold on the British side, Ripley advanced confidently to the neighbourhood of Chippewa, and was making preparations to carry that place, when General Riall, who had collected

75.
Capture of
Fort Erie,
and battle of
Chippewa.
June 3.

about fifteen hundred regular troops and a thousand militia and Indians, adopted the bold resolution, notwithstanding the enemy's great superiority of force, of hazarding an immediate attack. The action commenced at five o'clock in the afternoon, by the militia and Indians attacking the light infantry of the enemy. But the Kentucky Rifles fought stoutly: their marksmen among the trees dealt out death with no sparing hand; and it was only by the light companies of the Royal Scots and 100th that they were finally driven in. The main body, consisting of these regiments, the King's, and the militia, now advanced to the attack in column, the Americans receiving them in line, thus reversing the usual order of the British and French in the Peninsular campaigns. The result was the same as what had there so often occurred; the head of the British column was crushed by the discharges of the American line, which stood bravely, and fired with great precision; and though they succeeded in deploying with much steadiness, the loss sustained in doing so was so serious, that General Riall was obliged to retreat with the loss of one hundred and fifty-one killed, and three hundred and twenty wounded. The American loss was two hundred and fifty-one.¹ After this repulse,

June 5.

¹ General
Riall's
Account.
July 6, 1814.
Ann. Reg.
1814, 200.
App. to
Chron.
Christie, 128,
130. Arm-
strong, ii. 86,
89.

CHAP.
XCI.

1814.

the British retired to their intrenched camp; but the Americans, now commanded by General Brown, having discovered a cross-road, which enabled them to threaten his communications, Riall fell back to Twenty-Mile Creek, abandoning Queenstown, which was occupied by the enemy.

76.
Defeat of the
Americans at
Chippewa.

June 15.

This well-fought action was the most considerable which had yet occurred during the war, and as it terminated unfavourably for the British, though with a great superiority of force on the part of the enemy, it demonstrated that increased experience and protracted hostilities were beginning to produce their ordinary effects in teaching a people naturally brave the art of war. Their triumph, however, was not of long duration. Brown advanced to the vicinity of Fort George, where, according to the plan of the campaign, he was to have met the flotilla: but as the British still had the superiority on Lake Ontario, he not only met there with none of the naval succour which he had expected, but found the English flotilla lying in the harbour, and their land forces considerably augmented. The forts also, both of George and Niagara, were so strengthened as to leave no hope of a successful siege of them with the means at his disposal. Brown, accordingly, after remaining a week in the neighbourhood of Fort George, commenced his retreat to Chippewa, which he reached on the evening of the 24th. General Riall immediately moved out of his intrenched camp in pursuit; and General Drummond having come up at the same time with reinforcements from Kingston, an attack with the united body—in all about three thousand, of whom eighteen hundred were regulars—was made upon the enemy, whose force was about five thousand strong. The British guns, nine in number, happily seized a commanding eminence, which swept the whole field of battle. With great resolution, however, and highly elated with their recent success, the Americans advanced to the charge. The action began about six in the evening, and the whole line was soon warmly engaged, but the weight of the conflict fell upon the British centre and left. Notwithstanding the utmost efforts, the latter was forced back, and General Riall was severely wounded and made prisoner.¹ In the centre, however, the 89th

¹ General Drummond's Official Account, July 27, 1814. Ann. Reg. App. to Chron. 203. Christie, 132, 133. Armstrong, ii. 89, 91.

Royals, and King's regiments opposed a determined resistance: and the guns on the hill, which were worked with prodigious rapidity, occasioned so great a loss to the attacking columns, that Brown soon saw that there was no chance of success till that battery was carried, and a desperate effort was resolved on to obtain the mastery of it.

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1814.

The Americans, under General Millar, advanced with the utmost resolution, and with such vigour, that five of the British cannon at first fell into their hands. So desperate was the onset, so strenuous the resistance, that the British artillerymen were bayoneted by the enemy in the act of loading, and the muzzles of their guns were advanced to within a few yards of the English battery. This dreadful conflict, when, literally speaking, "Greek met Greek," continued till after dark, with alternate success, in the course of which the combatants fought hand to hand, by the light of the discharges of the guns, and the artillery on both sides was repeatedly taken and retaken. At length, after an hour's vehement struggle, the combatants sank to rest from pure mutual exhaustion, within a few yards of each other, and so intermingled, that two of the American guns were finally mastered by the British, and one of the British by the Americans; so that, on the whole, one gun was gained for England in this unparalleled struggle with her worthy offspring. During this period of repose, the loud roar of the battle was succeeded by silence so profound, that the dull roar of the falls of Niagara, interrupted at intervals by the groans of the wounded, was distinctly heard. Over the scene of this desperate strife the moon threw an uncertain light, which yielded occasionally to the bright flashes of musketry or cannon, when the combat was partially renewed. Drummond skilfully took advantage of this respite to bring up the left wing, which had been repulsed, so as to form a support to the centre, while the line was prolonged to the right, where there was some danger of being outflanked; so that the blood-stained hill now formed the pivot of the British right. Upon this, the American general, being in no condition to continue the contest, gave orders for a retreat, which was carried into effect about midnight, the whole army retiring into their camp near Chippewa.¹

77.

Awful circumstances
of the action.

¹ General Drummond's Official Account, July 27, 1814. Ann. Reg. 1814, 204. App. to Chron. Christie, 133, 134. Armstrong, ii. 93, 95.

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XCI.
1814.

Next day the retreat was continued to Fort Erie, with such precipitation, that the whole baggage, provisions, and camp equipage, were thrown into the Rapids, and precipitated over the awful cataract of Niagara.

78.
Results of
the battle.

In this desperate battle, the loss on both sides was very severe, but more so to the Americans than to the British. The former lost nine hundred and thirty killed and wounded, including in the latter Generals Brown and Scott; besides three hundred prisoners and one gun. The latter were only weakened by eight hundred and seventy men, of whom forty-two were made prisoners; among the latter were General Riall and his staff. But the result of the action was of the highest importance, as it entirely stopped the invasion of Upper Canada, and threw the Americans, lately so confident of success, back into Fort Erie, where they were immediately besieged by a force little more than half their amount. The operations were pushed with great activity: three armed schooners, anchored off the fort, were captured by a body of marines, who pushed off in boats during the night; and the defences were so much injured, that Drummond determined to hazard an assault early on the morning of the 15th August.¹

Aug. 8.

¹ Christie,
134, 185.
Armstrong,
ii. 94, 95.

79.
Unsuccessful
assault on
Fort Erie.
Aug. 15.

This daring attempt, with two thousand men, to storm an intrenched camp resting on a fort, and garrisoned by three thousand five hundred, had very nearly succeeded. The assailants were divided into three columns, and the first, under Colonel Fischer, had actually gained possession of the enemy's batteries, at the point assigned for its attack, two hours before daylight. If the other columns had reached their destined points of assault at the same time, the fort and intrenched camp would have been won, and the whole invading force made prisoners. But the supporting columns got entangled, by marching too near the lake, between the rocks and the water, and came up later, when the enemy were on the alert, who opened a tremendous fire upon the head of the column, which threw it into confusion. Meanwhile the other column succeeded, after a desperate resistance, in effecting a lodgment in the fort, by creeping in through the embrasures of a bastion, and had actually turned its guns for above an hour upon the enemy. At this critical moment, the

stone building in the interior, which they still held, took fire, and the flames having caught a quantity of powder placed in it, the whole blew up, with an explosion so tremendous, that the troops, thinking a mine had been sprung, were seized with a sudden panic, and, in spite of all the efforts of their officers, rushed in disorder out of the fort. The enemy now turned their whole forces upon Fischer's column, which was driven out of the works it had won, and the assault was repulsed at all points. In this gallant but abortive attempt, the British lost one hundred and fifty-seven men killed, three hundred and eight wounded, and one hundred and eighty-six prisoners. The loss, heavy though it was, was more than compensated next day, by the arrival of two new regiments from Lower Canada; but, notwithstanding this, General Drummond did not deem himself in sufficient strength to hazard a second assault, but contented himself with drawing closer the investment, and cooping the large American army up in a corner of the British territory, where they were rendered perfectly useless during the remainder of the campaign.¹

CHAP.
XCI.
1814.

¹ General Drummond's Official Account, Aug. 15, 1814. Ann. Reg. 1814, 209. Christie, 132, 133. Armstrong, ii. 99, 100.

The operations of the British armament, on the southern coasts of America, had hitherto been on a small scale, calculated rather to irritate than alarm; but the termination of the war in Europe having rendered the whole navy and great part of the army of Great Britain disposable, it was resolved to prosecute hostilities there and in Canada with much vigour, and on a scale commensurate with the strength and reputation of the empire. Three regiments of Wellington's army, the 4th, 44th, and 85th, were embarked at Bordeaux on the 2d June, on board the Royal Oak seventy-four, and Dictator and Diadem of sixty four guns each, and on the 24th arrived at Bermuda, where they were joined by the fusileers, and three regiments from the Mediterranean in six frigates, forming altogether a force of three thousand five hundred men, which arrived in Chesapeake Bay in the middle of August. General Ross commanded the land forces, Admiral Cockburn the fleet; and no two officers could have been found whose vigour, judgment, and daring, were better calculated to effect great things with small means. Their first measure was to take possession of Tangier Island, where

80.
Operations in Chesapeake Bay.

June 2.

June 24.

CHAP.
XCI.
1814.

¹ James, vi.
304, 305.
Brenton, ii.
521. Arm-
strong, ii.
124, 125.
Ann. Reg.
1814, 183.

81.
Preparations
for the
attack on
Washington.

Aug. 20.

Aug. 21.

they erected fortifications, built storehouses, and hoisted the British flag ; inviting at the same time the negroes in the adjoining provinces to join the British force in the island, and offering them emancipation in the event of their doing so. Seventeen hundred speedily appeared, were enrolled and disciplined, and proved of no small service in subsequent operations. This incitement of the negro population to revolt, was a step of very questionable morality in a political point of view, and it in the end cost the British no small sum as a compensation to the injured proprietors.* But it marked, in an unequivocal manner, the perilous foundation on which society in the southern provinces of the United States is rested, and the heedlessness of the people who, placed on the edge of such a volcano, urged on the war which might at once lead to its explosion.¹

The chief approach to Washington is by the river Potomac, which discharges itself into the upper extremity of the bay of Chesapeake. It may also be reached by the Patuxent from the town of Benedict, on which river there is a good road to the metropolis. After much deliberation, it was determined by the British commander to make a dash at this capital, and to approach it by the latter river, partly on account of the greater facility of access which it afforded, partly in order to accomplish the destruction of Commodore Barney's powerful flotilla of gun-boats, which had taken refuge in creeks in the upper parts of its course. The latter part of this service was speedily and effectually performed. The ships of war having ascended the stream as far as Benedict, beyond which there is not a sufficient draught of water for large vessels, the boats of the fleet were despatched after the flotilla ; and the Americans, finding escape impossible, committed it to the flames, which consumed in a few hours fifteen fine gun-boats. Another, which resisted the conflagration, was brought away, with thirteen merchant schooners which had sought protection under cover of

* By the treaty of Ghent, the compensation to be paid to the injured proprietors was referred to the Emperor of Russia ; and that prince, influenced doubtless in some degree by the danger of a similar mode of hostility in his own dominions, awarded the enormous sum of £250,000, or nearly £150 a-head, for each negro that gained his freedom.—See MR. ROBINSON'S *Speech*, (*Chancellor of Exchequer*) 28th February 1825, *Parl. Deb.*

the armed vessels. This brilliant stroke having at once destroyed the enemy's whole naval force in the river, it was determined immediately to make an attack on the capital. The troops were accordingly disembarked at Benedict, and, with the addition of some marines, amounted in all to three thousand five hundred combatants, with two hundred sailors to draw the guns; and with this handful of men, carrying with them two three-pounders, and provisions for three days, the British general commenced his march against the capital of a republic which numbered eight millions of inhabitants, and boasted of having eight hundred thousand men in arms.¹

CHAP.
XCI.

1814.

¹ Armstrong, ii. 125, 127. James, vi. 308, 309. Ann. Reg. 1814, 183, 184. General Ross's Official Account, Aug. 30, 1814. App. to Chron. 219.

The American government were far from being unprepared for this attack. From some hints imprudently dropped by the British commissioners who at this period were negotiating with those of America at Ghent, they had become aware that an attempt on the capital was in contemplation; and nearly a month before Ross landed in the Patuxent, measures had been taken for placing, in case of invasion, sixteen thousand six hundred men at the disposal of General Winder, to cover the capital. At the same time, a requisition for the whole militia of Pennsylvania and Virginia, ninety-three thousand strong, was made, and cheerfully answered. But the result soon showed what reliance is to be placed on the nominal paper-musters of such ill-disciplined arrays, when real danger is to be faced. Of the ninety-three thousand combatants of Pennsylvania and Virginia, nothing was heard when the day of trial approached: of the sixteen thousand active troops placed at the disposal of General Winder, not one-half appeared at the place of muster: and when the British troops were within five miles of Washington, only six thousand five hundred bayonets, three hundred horse, and six hundred seamen to work the guns, were assembled round the standards of the American general. He had, however, twenty-six guns to the British two: and with this force, about double that of the British, he took post at BLADENSBERG, a small village on the left bank of the eastern branch of the Potomac, and commanding the only bridge by which that river could be crossed.² The great road ran straight

82.

Preparations for the defence of Washington.

July 18.

² Ross's Official Account, Aug. 30, 1814. Ann. Reg. 1814, 219. App. to Chron. James, vi. 308. Armstrong, ii. 128, 130. British Camp. of Washington, 96, 102.

CHAP.
XCI.

1814.

83.
Battle of
Bladensburg.
Aug. 24.

through the centre of his position, and the artillery was placed so as to enfilade all the approaches to the bridge.

Ross's decision was soon taken. Forming his troops into two columns, the one under the command of Colonel Thornton, the other under that of Colonel Brooke, he immediately gave orders for the attack. Thornton's men advanced in double quick time, in the finest order, through the fire of the guns, dashed across the bridge, carried a fortified house at the other end, which was occupied and loop-holed, and being quickly followed by the other division, spread out their sharpshooters on either flank, and moved directly against the American batteries. So vigorous was the attack, so feeble the defence, that they were all carried, and the first line thrown back in confusion on the second by the first division alone, not more than fifteen hundred strong, aided by the fire of a few rockets, before the second could get across the bridge. Ten guns were taken, and the whole army, totally routed, took to flight, and reached Washington in the utmost confusion, where they tarried not an instant, but hurried through to the heights of Georgetown to the westward. Hardly any pursuit was attempted by the British, partly from their having no cavalry, partly from the extraordinary heat of the day having so exhausted the troops, that even the stoutest men in the army were unable to proceed till it was somewhat abated by the approach of evening. Their loss was surprisingly small, being only sixty-one killed and a hundred and eighty-five wounded.¹

¹ Ross's
Official
Account,
30th Aug.
1814. Ann.
Reg. 1814,
219. Arm-
strong, ii.
130, 131.

84.
Capture of
Washington.

After two hours' rest, however, the march was resumed, and the troops arrived within a mile of Washington at eight at night, where two thousand of them were halted, and the remainder accompanied General Ross and Admiral Cockburn into the city. A proposition was then made to the American authorities to ransom the public buildings, by paying a sum of money. This having been refused, the British general, on the following morning, applied the torch not only to the arsenals and storehouses, but to the public buildings of every description. In a few hours the Capitol, including the senate-house and House of Representatives, the arsenal, dockyard, treasury, war-office, president's palace, rope-walk, and the great bridge

across the Potomac, were destroyed. The navy-yard and arsenal, with immense magazines of powder, were set on fire by the Americans before they retired, and with them twenty thousand stand of arms were consumed. A fine frigate, of sixteen hundred tons, nearly finished, and a sloop, the Argus, of twenty guns, already afloat, were burned by them before evacuating the city. Immense stores of ammunition, two hundred and six pieces of cannon, and one hundred thousand rounds of ball cartridge, were taken by the British and destroyed; and having completed the ruin of all the warlike establishments in the place, they leisurely retired on the evening of the 25th, and reached Benedict by easy marches on the 29th, where they embarked next day without being disquieted by the enemy.¹

The capture of the American capital by so inconsiderable a British force, notwithstanding all the preparations of the government for above a month to avert the danger, and the immense importance of the blow thus struck at the naval and military resources of the enemy, rendered this expedition one of the most brilliant ever carried into execution by any nation. As such, it excited at the time a prodigious sensation in the United States; and it has hardly done less service to future times, and the cause of historic truth, by demonstrating in a decisive manner the extreme feebleness of the means for national protection which democratic institutions afford, when not coerced by military or despotic power. Yet it is to be regretted that the lustre of the victory has been much tarnished to the British arms, by the unusual and, in the circumstances, unwarrantable extension which they made of the ravages of war to the *pacific* or ornamental edifices of the capital. The usages of warfare, alike in ancient and modern times, have usually saved from destruction, even in towns taken by storm, edifices which are dedicated to the purposes of religion or embellishment. The Parthenon, after having stood two thousand years, and been the prey alternately of the Goth, the Crusader and the Saracen, was still entire when it was accidentally blown up by a bomb at the siege by the Venetians of the Acropolis in 1689. The majestic edifices of Rome were really wasted away, not by the torches of Alaric or Genseric, but by the selfish cupidity

CHAP.
XCI.

1814.

¹ General
Ross's
Account,
Aug. 30,
1814. Ann.
Reg. 1814,
219. App.
to Chron.
James, vi.
310, 311.
Armstrong,
ii. 130, 131.
Camp. at
Washington,
117, 129.

80.
Reflections
on this expe-
dition.

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XCI.

1814.

86.

Unjustifiable
use made by
the British of
their victory
in destroying
the public
buildings of
Washington.

of its unworthy inhabitants, who employed them in the construction of modern buildings.

It is no small reproach to Napoleon that he wantonly extended the ravages of war, as well as the hand of the spoiler, into these hitherto untouched domains; and in the destruction of the bastions of Vienna and the Kremlin of Moscow, gave sure proof of a little and malevolent spirit, unworthy of so great a man. The cruel devastation by the Americans on the Canadian frontier is no adequate excuse; they had been amply and rightly avenged by the flames of Buffalo and Black Rock; and Alexander had recently given example of the noblest revenge for such outrages by saving Paris. It would appear, that as the contest between Great Britain and America resembled in more points than one a civil war, so it partook occasionally of the well-known inveterate character of that species of hostility; and the British historian, in recounting the transaction, will best discharge his duty by acknowledging the error of his country, and rejoice that it was in some degree redeemed by the strict discipline observed by the troops, and the complete protection afforded to the persons and property of the inhabitants during their occupation of the American capital.*

The capture of Washington was quickly succeeded by an exploit of inferior magnitude, but equally vigorous and successful. In the Potomac river, Captain Gordon, in the Seahorse frigate, with the Euryalus brig and several bomb vessels, skilfully overcame the intricacies of the passage leading by that river to the metropolis; and on

* "The British officers pay inviolable respect to private property, and no peaceable citizen is molested."—*National Intelligencer*, 25th August 1814, quoted in JAMES, vi. 311. "The value of the public property destroyed was 1,624,280 dollars, or £365,463 sterling."—*Ibid*.

It is but justice to the gallant officers employed in this expedition to observe, not only that they are noways responsible for the destruction of the public buildings of Washington, as they acted under distinct orders from their own government, but that they deserve the highest credit for carrying those barbarous instructions into execution in the most forbearing and considerate manner, confining the destruction to *public* edifices, and observing the strictest discipline in relation to private life and property. On the 14th August 1814, Admiral Cochrane officially announced to Mr Monroe, "that, under the *new and imperative* character of his orders, it became his duty to destroy and lay waste all towns and districts of the United States found accessible to the attack of British armaments." What a contrast to the glorious and withal politic forbearance of Wellington in the south of France! And both had their reward—Wellington, in the capture of Toulouse and surrender of Bourdeaux; the "new and imperative system," in the failure at Baltimore and the defeat at New Orleans.—See ARMSTRONG, ii. 155.

the evening of the 27th arrived abreast of Fort Washington, constructed to command the river as Fort Lillo does the Scheldt. It was immediately bombarded; and the powder magazine having soon after exploded, the place was abandoned, and taken possession of, with all its guns, by the British. From thence they proceeded to Alexandria, and the bomb vessels having assumed such a position as effectually commanded the shipping, the enemy were compelled to capitulate, and give up all their vessels, two-and-twenty in number, including several armed schooners, which were brought away in triumph. On returning down the river, heavily laden with their numerous prizes, the British squadron had a very serious danger to encounter from some American batteries which had been erected to cut off their retreat, and which were manned by the crews of the Baltimore flotilla; but such was the skill with which the vessels were navigated that none went aground, and the shells from the bombs were thrown with such precision that the Americans were driven from their guns, and the whole squadron emerged safely with its prizes from the Potomac.¹

The successful issue of these attacks naturally suggested a similar expedition against Baltimore: and, after some deliberation, the British naval and military commanders agreed to undertake it. The fleet, accordingly, moved in that direction, and reached the mouth of the Patapsco, which leads to Baltimore, on the 11th September. Next day the troops were landed, and marched directly towards the city, while the ships moved up to co-operate in the attack that was contemplated. No opposition was attempted for the first six miles, though several intrenchments, newly thrown up, were passed, which had been abandoned; but when they approached Baltimore, a detachment of light troops was observed occupying a thick wood through which the road passed. General Ross, impelled by the daring courage by which he was distinguished, immediately advanced with the skirmishers to the front, and soon received a mortal wound in the breast. He survived only to recommend his young and unprovided family to his king and country. Colonel Brooke, however, immediately assumed the command; and the light troops coming up, the enemy fell back, still skirmishing from

CHAP.
XCI.

1814.

87.

Capture of
Fort Wash-
ington and
Alexandria.
Aug. 27.

Sept. 5.

¹ James, vi.
313, 315.Armstrong,
ii. 131, 134.
Brenton, ii.
522.

88.

Victory of the
British near
Baltimore.
Sept. 11.

CHAP.
XCI.

1814.

Sept. 12.

1 James, vi.
320. Ann.
Reg. 1814, p.
229. Brooke's
Official
Account,
Sept. 17,
1814.

behind the trees with which the country abounded, to a fortified position, running across a narrow neck of land which separated the Patapsco and Back rivers. Six thousand infantry, with four hundred horse and six guns, were here drawn up in line across the road, with either flank placed in a thick wood, and a strong wooden paling covering their front. Brooke, however, gave orders for an immediate attack; and it was made with such vigour that, in less than fifteen minutes, the enemy were routed, and fled in every direction, leaving six hundred killed and wounded on the field of battle, besides three hundred prisoners and two guns in the hands of the British.¹

89.
Attack on
the town
abandoned.
Sept. 13.

Early on the following morning the march was resumed, and Brooke arrived within a mile and a half of Baltimore, where he found a body of fifteen thousand men, with a large train of artillery, manned by the sailors of the frigates lying at Baltimore, strongly posted on a series of fortified heights which encircle the town. The magnitude of this force rendered it imprudent to hazard an immediate attack with three thousand bayonets: but Brooke, relying on the admirable spirit of his troops, determined on a night assault, when the enemy's artillery would be of little avail, and the whole dispositions were made for that purpose. At nightfall, however, and when the troops were just taking up their ground for the attack, advices were received from Admiral Cochrane, stating that the enemy, by sinking twenty vessels in the river, had arrested the further progress of the ships, and rendered naval co-operation impossible. Brooke, in these circumstances, wisely judged that the loss likely to be incurred in storming the intrenchments would more than counterbalance the prospect of advantage from the reduction of the town, and withdrew without molestation to his ships. The commanders of the *Severn*, *Euryalus*, *Havannah*, and *Hebrus* frigates had offered to lighten their ships, and lay them alongside of Fort-le-Henry, which commanded the passage, and the possession of which would have left Baltimore at their mercy;² and it is to be regretted that any view to ulterior operations should have led to this offer not being accepted, as its acceptance would probably have led to the destruction of

2 James, vi.
320, 321.
Colonel
Brooke's
Official
Account
Sept. 17,
1814. Ann.
Reg. 1814.
229. App to
Chron. Arm-
strong, ii.
134, 135.
Admiral
Cochrane's
Official
Account,
Sept. 15, 237.

the Java frigate, and Erie and Ontario brigs, which lay at Baltimore, and have prevented the land troops from being deprived of the fruit of their gallant victory.

CHAP.
XCI.
1814.

A naval expedition, crowned with complete success, took place at this time under Sir John Sherbrooke and Admiral Griffith in the Penobscot river. They sailed from Halifax on the 1st September, and on their approach the Fort of Custine, which commands the entrance of the river, was evacuated by the enemy and blown up. An American frigate, the John Adams, having run up the river for safety as high as the town of Hampden, where her guns were taken out and placed in battery, a detachment of sailors and marines was landed from the ships, which attacked and stormed the batteries, manned by double their force, upon which the frigate was set on fire and totally destroyed. The expedition then pushed on to Bangor, which surrendered without resistance, with twenty-two guns; and thence to Machias, which also was taken by capitulation, the whole militia of the county of Washington being put on their parole not to serve again during the war. Formal possession was then taken of the whole country between the Penobscot and the British frontier of New Brunswick, a district a hundred miles broad; and a provisional government were established to rule it till the conclusion of the war. This success was not only important in itself, but still more so as giving practical demonstration of the disposition of the inhabitants of that part of the state of Maine, and evincing the ease with which, in the event of the continuance of hostilities, it might be severed from the United States.¹

90.
Lesser actions
on the coast.

Sept. 3.

Sept. 5.

¹ Ann. Reg.
1814, 198,
199. Arm-
strong, ii.
139. James,
vi. 329, 331.

Meanwhile, a great expedition was preparing in Lower Canada, intending to co-operate in a distant way, with that of Sherbrooke and Griffith on the coast. Prevost's force had been progressively augmented by the successive arrival of brigades, detached, after the close of hostilities, from the army in the South of France; so that, in the end of August, he had in all sixteen thousand regular troops in the two Canadas under his command, of whom twelve thousand were in the lower province. A force so considerable not only removed all danger of successful invasion by the American army, but rendered feasible a serious

91.
Sir George
Prevost's
expedition
against
Plattsburg.

CHAP.
XCI.
1814.

¹ Ann. Reg.
1814, 190.
Christie, 140.
James, vi.
339. Arm-
strong, ii.
110.

92.
Miserable
state of the
naval force to
co-operate
with it.

² James, vi.
339. Arm-
strong, ii.
110, 111.
Ann. Reg.
1814, 190.
Christie, 140.
Brenton, ii.
525.

93.
Success of the
expedition in
the outset.

inroad upon the adjoining provinces of Maine and New York. Such an attempt was also advisable in itself, in order to make the enemy feel, in their own territory, the weight of that power whose hostility they had so needlessly provoked. A body of nine thousand men, accordingly, was collected on the frontier of Lower Canada, with a formidable train of artillery, and commanded, under Prevost, by several generals and officers who had acquired durable renown in the Peninsular campaigns. If any thing could have added to the well-founded expectations entertained of this noble force, it was the circumstance of its being in great part composed of the veterans who had served with Wellington in Spain and France, and the remainder of the not less heroic band which had so gloriously struggled against overwhelming superiority of numbers in the two preceding campaigns, and who burned with anxiety to emulate the deeds of their brethren who had gained their laurels in the fields of European fame.

But, unfortunately, the naval part of the expedition, upon which, as in all Canadian warfare, the success of the land forces almost entirely depended, was by no means equally well provided. By a strange remissness on the part both of the British Admiralty and the local authorities, the flotilla on Lake Champlain, though consisting of a frigate, a brig, and twelve gun-boats, was wretchedly equipped, and the crews were made up of a strange medley of English soldiers and Canadian militia, with not a fifth of English sailors among them. And, to complete the untoward circumstances attending the naval force, Captain Fisher, by whom the fleet had been equipped, and who possessed the confidence of Sir George Prevost, was removed from the command a week before the decisive action, and Captain Downie, a brave man, but strange to the sailors, put in his place.²

The first operations of the armament were attended with complete success. The American general, Izzard, had sailed from Sackett's harbour on Lake Ontario, towards the upper part of the lake, with four thousand men, on the 10th August, to reinforce the troops in Fort Erie; so that the only forces which remained to resist

Prevost on the banks of Lake Champlain, were fifteen hundred regulars and as many militia, under General Macomb. Prevost's advance, accordingly, met with no interruption; and on the 6th September his powerful army appeared before Plattsburg, then defended by three redoubts and two blockhouses, strongly fortified. So inconsiderable had been the resistance made by the Americans to the British advance, that General Macomb says, the latter "did not deign to fire upon them." The three following days were employed in bringing up the heavy artillery, and it had all arrived by the 10th; but still the English general did not deem it expedient to make the attack till the flotilla came up. So backward had been the state of its preparations, that it only hove in sight on the morning of the 11th; and the shipwrights, as she moved through the water, were still busy at work on the hull of the *Confiance*, which bore the British commodore's flag.¹

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XCI.

1814.

Sept. 6.

¹ Prevost's
Official
Account,
Sept. 11,
1814. Ann.
Reg. 213.
App. to
Chron.
James, vi.
341. Arm-
strong, ii.
111, 112.
Christie, 140,
141. Cooper,
ii. 489.

The relative strength of the squadrons in this, as in every other naval action during the war where the British were defeated, was decisively in favour of the Americans;* but this disparity, already great in the number of vessels and men, and weight of metal, was rendered overwhelming by the wretched condition of the British crews, not a fourth of whom were sailors, and the unfinished state of the commodore's vessel. Sir George Prevost's solicitations, however, were so pressing for the squadron to operate, in consequence of the advanced period of the year, that on the 11th, while the clank of the builders' hammers was still heard on board the *Confiance*, Captain Downie gave the signal to weigh anchor. He relied upon the assurance given that the troops should

94.

Preparations
for the com-
bat and rela-
tive forces of
the two sides.

Sept. 11.

* Comparative force of the combatants:

	British Squadron.			American.		
Vessels,*	-	-	8	-	-	14
Broadside guns,	-	-	38	-	-	52
Weight of metal, lbs.,	-	-	765	-	-	1,194
Aggregate of crews,	-	-	537	-	-	950
Tons,	-	-	1,426	-	-	2,540

JAMES, vi. 346; and COOPER, ii. 495, 497.

* The *Finch*, a British brig, grounded out of shot and did not engage; and five of the gunboats disappeared, and never fired a shot, so these vessels are excluded from the comparison, as are the two American sloops which were not engaged.

CHAP.
XCI.

1814.

¹ Cooper, ii.
495, 496.
James, ii.
341, 342.
Christie, 141,
142. Cap-
tain Pring's
Account,
Sept. 1,
1814. Ann.
Reg. 215.
App. to
Chron.

95.
Commence-
ment of the
action be-
tween the
two squad-
rons.

commence an assault on the redoubts, at the same time that the squadron attacked the flotilla in the bay, and it was not doubted that the early capture of the forts, by depriving the enemy's ships of the support of their batteries, would lead to their defeat, and the final decision of the naval contest on the lake. The moment, accordingly, that the *Confiance*, which led the British flotilla, rounded Cumberland head at a quarter to eight, Downie scaled his guns, as had been agreed on; but although instructions to hold themselves in readiness had been given to the troops at daybreak, yet they were ordered to breakfast before they moved, and did not in consequence begin their march till the action at sea had commenced; an unfortunate circumstance, as it postponed the military co-operation till it was too late. Meanwhile Downie gallantly led his little squadron into action; the American fleet, under its brave and skilful commander, Captain M'Donough, being moored in line in the bay, the *Saratoga* of twenty-six guns, bearing his flag, in the centre, and the brigs *Eagle* of twenty guns, *Ticonderago* of seventeen guns, and *Pride* of seven guns, and ten gunboats disposed on either flank.¹

As the *Confiance* mounted thirty-seven guns, she was greatly superior to any single vessel in the American flotilla; and if the British gunboats had all followed the example set them by their commander, the combat might, notwithstanding the Americans' great superiority on the whole, have been not altogether unequal. But while the *Confiance* was gallantly leading into action amidst a tremendous fire from the American line, the whole gunboats, except three, and one of the cutters, took to flight, leaving Downie in the midst of the hostile fleet, with his own frigate, brig, and sloop, wholly unsupported either by the advance of the land forces or by his own smaller vessels.* Undaunted, however, by this shameful defection of the boats, the British commander, who nobly headed his squadron, drawing the whole hostile fire upon his own vessel, held steadily on without returning a shot, while his rigging and spars were fast falling under the

* This disaster, in all probability, would not have occurred, had Captain Fisher's public-spirited offer to command that force, made just before, been accepted.

well-directed fire of the American fleet; but the wind failing just as he was on the point of breaking their line, he was under the necessity of casting anchor within two cables' distance, and bringing his broadside to bear on the enemy. Instantly the *Confiance* appeared a sheet of fire; her whole broadside, aimed at the *Saratoga*, which bore Captain M'Donough's flag, was discharged at once with great effect. The *Linnet* and *Chubb* soon after came up, and took their appointed stations; but in a short time the latter was so crippled that she became unmanageable, drifted within the American line, and was obliged to surrender, while the *Finch* struck on a reef of rocks, and could not get into action.¹

The whole guns of the American flotilla were now directed against the *Confiance*, which, enveloped by enemies, still maintained a gallant fight. Broadside after broadside came from her, until at length the *Saratoga*, against which her fire was almost entirely directed, had all her long guns dismounted, and her carronades so disabled that she had not a single available piece of ordnance left. Nothing was now wanting but one or two of the gunboats to have given the British a decisive victory; but they had all fled. The *Confiance* herself was suffering severely from the concentric fire of the brigs and gunboats which clustered round her in every direction, some raking, some astern, as well as under her bows, and Captain Downie had fallen early in the action. Meanwhile her antagonist, the *Saratoga*, which she had completely silenced, lay at such a distance that she could not be taken possession of. So destructive, however, was the fire which the *Confiance* still kept up, that the *Saratoga* was on the point of surrendering, when, as a last resource, M'Donough made an effort to wear the ship round, so as to bring her larboard side, hitherto untouched, to bear upon the British vessel. This skilful movement was successfully performed; the *Confiance* strove to do the same, but, from the inexperience of her motley crew, the attempt failed, and the larboard guns of the *Saratoga*, almost all untouched, now spoke out like giants, and soon compelled the *Confiance* to strike. The only remaining British vessel was now the *Linnet*;

CHAP.
XCI.

1814.

¹ James, vi.
344, 345.
Cooper, ii.
504, 505.
Christie, 142,
143. Cap-
tain Pring's
Official
Account,
Sept. 12,
1814. Ann.
Reg. 1814,
215.

96.
Total defeat
of the British
squadron.

CHAP.
XCI.

1814.

¹ Cooper, ii.
505, 507.
James, vi.
341, 345.
Captain
Pring's
Official
Account.
Ann. Reg.
1814, 215,
217.
Christie, 143.

against her the whole guns of the American squadron were immediately directed, and after a quarter of an hour's heroic resistance, she too was compelled to surrender. Captain M'Donough, on receiving the sword of Lieutenant Robertson, who commanded the *Confiance* after Downie had fallen, said, with the magnanimity which is ever the accompaniment of true valour,—“You owe it, sir, to the shameful conduct of your gunboats and cutters, that you are not performing this office to me; for had they done their duty, you must have perceived, from the situation of the *Saratoga*, that I could hold out no longer; and, indeed, nothing induced me to keep up her colours, but my seeing, from the united fire of all the rest of my squadron on the *Confiance*, and her unsupported situation, that she must ultimately surrender.”¹ *

97.
Retreat of
Sir George
Prevost.

While this desperate battle was raging on the lake, the army ashore, agreeably to Prevost's orders, was advancing towards the works of Plattsburg, and the guns of the British batteries opened on the American squadron as soon as the firing commenced, but too far off to have any effect. One column, under General Robinson, was directed to ford the Saranac, and attack the works in front, while another, led by General Brisbane, was to make a circuit and assault them in rear. Robinson's troops, however, being led astray by their guides, and deceived as to the real path, by a curious and highly characteristic stratagem,[†] did not reach the point of

* In this desperate conflict, the *Confiance* had forty-one killed, including the lamented Captain Downie, and sixty wounded; the total loss of the British squadron was fifty-seven killed, and ninety-two wounded: the Americans lost on board the *Saratoga*, twenty-eight killed and twenty-nine wounded; their total loss was fifty-two killed and fifty-nine wounded. JAMES, vi. 346; and COOPER, ii. 507, 508.

† The following interesting note I have from an excellent and highly esteemed friend in Canada, Andrew William Cochrane, Esq., now high in office at Quebec:—

“Being travelling in the United States last September, (1840,) I made acquaintance with General Macomb, who entered freely and fully into details of the Plattsburg expedition, and spoke with strong reprobation of the cruel censures cast upon Sir George Prevost. He said that the forts might have been taken on the 6th or 7th; (but then the fleet would have escaped, to capture or destroy which was considered one of the most important objects of the expedition;) he doubted whether they could have been after that, without severe loss. He described the formidable double stockade, which he maintained would have delayed the best troops a long time to surmount or cut down; that the works were so situated, relatively, that the defenders could retreat from the one to the other; that though an overwhelming force might have forced them one

attack till the shouts from the American works announced that the fleet had surrendered. To have carried the redoubts when the troops did get up, would have been a bloody undertaking, though probably certain of success, and would have formed a set-off at least to the naval disaster. But Sir George Prevost, deeming his instructions not to expose the troops under his command to unnecessary or useless danger, to be imperative,* and being of opinion, that after the command of the lake was lost, no further advance into the American territory was practicable, and consequently, that the men lost in storming the redoubts would prove an unavailing sacrifice, gave the signal to draw off, and soon after commenced his retreat. Such was the indignation which this order excited among the British officers, inured in Spain to a long course of victory, that several of them broke their swords, declaring they would never serve again; and the army, in mournful submission, leisurely wound its way back to the Canadian frontier, without being disquieted by the enemy.^{1†}

The actual casualties in this ill-fated expedition were under two hundred men, though four hundred were lost by desertion during the depression and facilities of the retreat. But the murmurs of the troops and of the people of Canada were loud and long at such a termination of the operations of an armament composed, so far as the military force was concerned, of such materials, and from which so much had been expected. The result was, that Sir George Prevost resigned, and demanded a court-martial. He was accused, accordingly, at the instance of Sir James Yeo, upon the charges of having

after the other, the loss must have been severe, if, indeed, they succeeded at all; that by a stratagem, he had caused the attacking division to lose their way, and to be led off in another direction, into the woods, which he had filled with militia in ambush; that he had done this by making the militia, during the night of the 10th, fill up the proper road of approach with young trees, *planted* so as to resemble the rest of the forest, and opening, at the same time, a road through the wood, away from the forts, which he caused to be beaten with ox carts, so as to look like a travelled wood path; and that it was here, as is well known, that the attacking division was led astray."

* "You will take care not to expose his majesty's troops to being cut off; and guard against whatever might commit the safety of the force placed under your command."—LORD BATHURST'S *Instructions to SIR GEORGE PREVOST*.

† It is satisfactorily proved that the capture of the forts could not, save by its moral influence, which, however, might have been very great, have influenced the issue of the naval conflict, as both fleets were full a mile and a half distant from the nearest batteries, and so beyond range of either party.—See *Memoirs of SIR G. PREVOST*, 161, 166; and *ARMSTRONG*, ii. 112.

CHAP.
XCI.

1814.

¹ Sir George Prevost's Official Account, Sept. 2, 1814. Ann, Reg. 1814, 214. App. to Chron. James, vi. 348. Christie, 144, 145. Armstrong, ii. 112, 113.

98.

Reflections on this expedition.

CHAP.
XCI.

1814.

¹ Christie,
Postscript,
150.99.
And on Sir
George
Prevost's
conduct.

unduly hurried the squadron on the lake into action, at a time when the *Confiance* was as yet unprepared for it; and, when the combat did begin, having neglected to storm the batteries, as had been agreed on, so as to have occasioned the destruction of the flotilla, and the failure of the expedition. The death of that ill-fated commander before the court-martial commenced, prevented these charges from being judicially investigated. But historic truth compels the expression of an opinion, that though proceeding from a laudable motive—the desire of preventing a needless effusion of human blood—the determination to abandon the attack on the forts by Sir George Prevost, though judicious with reference to the expedition he commanded, was unfortunate so far as the general interests of the war were concerned.¹

Yet did his error, if error it was, originate in a sacrifice of the feelings of self to a sense of public duty. His personal courage was undoubted, his character amiable in the highest degree; the mildness and conciliatory spirit of his government had justly endeared him to the Canadians; and his general conduct in North America had been, in very difficult circumstances, truly admirable. Indeed his defence of that province against the vastly superior forces of the Americans, is one of the brightest pages in the military annals of Great Britain, and, after his death, justly called forth a public expression of satisfaction from the Prince Regent, and the conferring of additional honours on his family. The failure of the expedition against Plattsburg was not to be ascribed to him: it arose from the unprepared state of the fleet before the expedition commenced, and the shameful defection of the gunboats, which deserted the heroic *Downie* when on the point of gaining a decisive victory. We have the authority of the greatest military master of the age for the assertion, that after the destruction of the fleet, any further prosecution of the advance at land could have led to no beneficial result, as the troops could not have obtained supplies when the Americans had the command on the waters.* Prevost's error was, that he

* “I approve highly, indeed I go further, I admire all that has been done by the military in America, so far as I understand it generally. Whether Sir George Prevost was right or wrong in his decision at Lake Champlain, is more than I can tell; though of this I am certain, he must equally have returned to

did not make his attack on the forts *simultaneously* with the action on the lake: he only began to move when the firing of the flotillas commenced.

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XCI.

1814

It is true, the storming of the forts would have had no material effect, except by distant encouragement, on the issue of the naval combat, as it took place beyond the range of the batteries on shore; but such moral influence would perhaps have proved decisive. After the destruction of the fleet, the period of decisive success was past: nothing could then be done but to put the best face possible on a retreat. That Prevost might have carried the American blockhouses and batteries, is indeed certain; but the examples of New Orleans and Chippewa prove, that the Americans fight obstinately behind breastworks, and it could only have been effected by a heavy sacrifice of human life, which, with the prospect of a protracted war in Canada, was a serious consideration. His decision in regard to the expedience of an immediate retreat, therefore, after the fleet had been destroyed, was justified with reference to the single objects of that expedition. It is to be regretted only from its having occurred so immediately before the close of the war, and thereby afforded the Americans ground for representing as a complete triumph what, by a vigorous application of the military forces at his command, might have been converted into a drawn battle, in which the laurels, barren to both parties, were divided. But, in justice to Prevost, it must be added, that this contingent result could not have been, with certainty, foreseen by him, as the duration of the war was uncertain; and that the first thought of a general should be the immediate duty with which he is intrusted, rather than the uncertain ultimate results of a course which hazardous daring might perhaps induce.

100.

What if
Prevost had
stormed the
blockhouses?

The British were in some degree consoled for this discomfiture by the repulse of a very formidable sortie made from Fort Erie. In the outset the Americans gained considerable advantages, and having succeeded,

Kingston after the fleet was beaten, and I am inclined to think he was right. I have told the ministers repeatedly that a naval superiority on the lakes is a *sine qua non* of success in war on the frontier of Canada, even if our object should be wholly defensive."—WELLINGTON to SIR GEORGE MURRAY, 22d December 1814; GURWOOD, xii. 224.

CHAP.
XCI.

1814.

101.

Sortie from
Fort Erie,
and its
evacuation
by the
Americans.
Sept. 17.

Sept. 21.

Nov. 5.

¹ Armstrong,
ii. 100, 108.
De Watten-
ville's Official
Account,
Sept. 17,
1814, Ann.
Reg. 1814,
259, 260.
Christie, 146,
147.

102.

The British
acquire the
superiority
on Lake On-
tario.

Oct. 16.

Oct. 10.

during a thick mist and heavy rain, in turning unperceived the right of the English picquets, they made themselves masters of two batteries, and did great damage to the British works. Speedily, however, the besiegers collected their troops, and the enemy were driven back with great slaughter. The loss on each side was about equal; that of the British being six hundred, of whom one-half were prisoners; that of the Americans five hundred and eleven. Both parties after this became weary of this destructive warfare, carried on in a corner of Upper Canada, and attended with no sensible influence on the fate of the campaign. On the 21st, as the low grounds around Fort Erie had become unhealthy, Drummond retired to higher and better quarters in the neighbourhood of Chippewa, after in vain endeavouring to provoke the American general to accept battle. And soon after, General Izzard, who had come up from Sackett's harbour to Fort Erie with four thousand additional troops, so far from prosecuting the advantages which so considerable an accumulation of force at that point promised, blew up Fort Erie, recrossed the Niagara, and withdrew with his whole troops into the American territory. "Thus," says Armstrong, the American war secretary, "literally fulfilling his own prediction, that the expedition would terminate in disappointment and disgrace."¹

This total evacuation of the British territory, after so much bloodshed, and such formidable preparations of the Americans for its conquest, was mainly owing to the English having at length acquired a decisive superiority on Lake Ontario. During some months in autumn, Commodore Chauncey had the advantage both in the number and weight of his vessels; and while Sir James Yeo was taking the most active measures to turn the balance the other way, he had the virtue—for to a British seaman it was a virtue—of meantime submitting to be blockaded in Kingston by the American squadron. At length the *St Lawrence*, a noble three-decker of one hundred guns, was launched; Chauncey instantly withdrew, and was blockaded in his turn in Sackett's harbour, and the British acquired the entire command of the lake for the remainder of the war. Sir James Yeo

immediately availed himself of this advantage to convey a large quantity of stores and considerable reinforcements of troops to the upper end of the lake, and preparations were making for an active campaign in the ensuing year on both sides, the Americans having laid down two line-of-battle ships, and the British two frigates, on the stocks, when hostilities were terminated by the conclusion of peace between the two countries.¹

CHAP.
XCI.

1814.

¹ Cooper, ii.
486, 490.
Christie, 149.

To conclude this history of the American war, it only remains to notice the attack on New Orleans, which terminated in so calamitous a manner to the British arms. This rising town, which then numbered seventeen thousand inhabitants, was not a place of warlike preparation, or very important in a military point of view. But it was the great emporium of the cotton trade of the southern states, and it was supposed, not without reason, that the capture of a city which commanded the whole navigation of the Mississippi would prove the most sensible blow to the resources of the American government, as well as furnish a rich booty to the captors. The expedition, accordingly, which had been baffled at Baltimore, was sent in this direction, and it was the dread of crippling it for this important stroke, which paralysed its efforts on the former occasion. The troops and squadron arrived off the shoals of the Mississippi on the 8th December; but there they found a flotilla of gunboats, prepared to dispute with the boats of the fleet the landing of the troops. Immediately a detachment of seamen and marines was put under the command of Captain Lockyer; and, after a hard chase of six-and-thirty hours, he succeeded in coming up with and destroying the whole, six in number, manned by two hundred and forty men. This pursuit, however, had taken the boats thirty miles from their ships; adverse winds, a tempestuous sea, and intricate shoals, impeded their return; and it was not till the 12th that they could get back, nor till the 15th that the landing of the troops commenced. Incredible difficulties were undergone, both by the soldiers and sailors, in effecting the disembarkation and conducting the march at that inclement season; and, what is very remarkable in that latitude, nothing retarded them more than the excessive cold, from which the troops, and in particular the blacks,

103.
Expedition
against New
Orleans.

Dec. 8.

Dec. 15.

CHAP.
XCI.

1815.

Dec. 23.

¹ Brenton, ii.
531, 533.James, vi.
357, 359.

Ann. Reg.

1814, 122,

123. Arm-

strong, ii.

159, 165.

suffered most severely. At length, however, by the united and indefatigable efforts of both services, these obstacles were overcome; the troops, in number about four thousand five hundred combatants, with a considerable quantity of heavy guns and stores, were landed; an attack of the American militia was repulsed with ease the same evening; Sir Edward Pakenham arrived next day, and the army advanced in two columns to within six miles of New Orleans, where preparations for defence had been made.¹

104.
Description
of the Ame-
rican posi-
tion.

² Armstrong,
167, 170.
Brenton, ii.
533. Camp.
in New Or-
leans, 147,
151. Ann.
Reg. 1815,
141, 142.

GENERAL JACKSON, an officer since become celebrated both in the military and political history of his country, commanded the military force destined for the defence of the city, which amounted to above twelve thousand men. He had turned to good account the long delays which the formidable obstacles that opposed the disembarkation of the British troops had occasioned, and the fortified position in which he now awaited an attack was all but impregnable. The American army was posted behind an intrenchment about a thousand yards long, stretching from the Mississippi on the right to a dense and impassable wood on the left. This line was strengthened by a ditch about four feet deep which ran along its front, and was defended by flank bastions which enfiladed its whole extent, and on which a formidable array of heavy cannon was placed. On the opposite bank of the Mississippi, which is there about eight hundred yards broad, a battery of twenty guns had been erected, which also flanked the whole front of the parapet.

105.
Preparatory
movements of
the British.

Jan. 6.

Attempts were made, for some days, to commence regular approaches against this formidable line of intrenchments, which was evidently much too strong to be carried by a *coup-de-main*; but it was soon found that the enemy's guns were so superior in weight and numbers, that nothing was to be expected from that species of attack. All hands were therefore set to deepen a canal in the rear of the British position, by which boats might be brought up to the Mississippi, and troops ferried across to carry the battery on the right bank of the river; but this proved a work of such extraordinary labour, that it was not till the evening of the 6th of January that the cut was declared passable. The boats were immediately

brought up and secreted near the river, wholly unknown to the enemy; and dispositions for an assault were made at five o'clock on the morning of the 8th. Colonel Thornton, with fourteen hundred men, was to cross the river in the night, storm the battery, and advance up the right bank till he came abreast of New Orleans; while the main attack on the intrenchments in front was to be made in two columns—the first under the command of General Gibbs, the second led by General Keane. Including seamen and marines, about six thousand combatants on the British side were in the field: a slender force to attack double their number, intrenched to the teeth in works bristling with bayonets, and loaded with heavy artillery.¹

Unexpected delays, principally owing to the rapid falling of the river, hindered the boats, fifty in number, which were to convey Thornton's men across, from reaching their destination at the appointed hour; and this, by preventing the attacks on the opposite banks being simultaneous, had a most prejudicial effect upon the issue of the operations. The patience of Pakenham being at length exhausted, the assault on the left bank was ordered, even before it was known whether the troops had been got across, and Gibbs' column advanced to the works. By this time, however, the wintry dawn had begun to break, and the dark mass was discerned from the American batteries, moving over the plain. Instantly a tremendous fire of grape and round shot was opened on both sides from the bastions upon it; but nevertheless the column, consisting of the 4th, 21st, and 44th, moved steadily forward, and reached the edge of the glacis. There, however, it was found that, through some neglect on the part of the commander of the 44th regiment, the scaling ladders and fascines had been forgotten, so that it was impossible to mount the parapet. This necessarily occasioned a stoppage at the foot of the works, just under the enemy's guns, while the ladders were sent for in all possible haste; but the fire was soon so terrible that the head of the column, riddled through and through, fell back in disorder.²

Pakenham, whose buoyant courage ever led him to the scene of danger, thinking they were now fairly in for it, and must go on, rode to the front, rallied the troops again,

CHAP.
XCI.

1815.

¹ General Lambert's Official Account, Jan. 10, 1815. Ann. Reg. 1815, 141, 142. App. to Chron. Brenton, ii. 533. British Camp. in New Orleans, 147, 161. Armstrong, ii. 167, 170.

106.
Dreadful slaughter in the British columns during the assault.

² Armstrong, ii. 170, 171. Lambert's Official Account, Jan. 10, 1815. Ann. Reg. 1815, p. 142, 143. App. to Chron. James's Military Occurrences, ii. 355.

CHAP.
XCI.

1815.

107.

Final repulse
of the British
attack.

¹ Lambert's
Official
Account,
Jan. 10,
1815, 142,
143. Ann.
Reg. App.
to Chron.
James's
Military
Occurrences,
ii. 355.
Armstrong,
ii. 170, 171.

108.

Success of
Thornton on
the other
bank, but
which leads
to nothing.

led them to the slope of the glacis, and was in the act, with his hat off, of cheering on his followers, when he fell, mortally wounded, pierced at the same moment by two balls. General Gibbs also was soon struck down; Keane, who led on the reserve, headed by the 93d, shared the same fate; but that noble regiment, composed entirely of Sutherland Highlanders, a thousand strong, instead of being daunted by the carnage, rushed with frantic valour through the throng, and with such fury pressed the leading files on, that, without either fascines or ladders, they fairly found their way by mounting upon each others' shoulders into the work. So close and deadly, however, was the fire of the riflemen when they got in, that the successful assailants were cut off to a man. At the same time Colonel Ranney, on the left, also penetrated into the intrenchments; but the companies which carried them not being supported, were mown down by grape-shot as at Bergen-op-Zoom. Finally, General Lambert, upon whom the command had now devolved from the death of Pakenham and the wounds of Gibbs and Keane, finding that to carry the works was impossible, and that the slaughter was tremendous, drew off his troops, who by this time had been thrown into great confusion.¹

While this sanguinary repulse, which cost the British two thousand men killed, wounded, and prisoners, was taking place on the left bank of the Mississippi, Colonel Thornton, with his division, had gained the most decisive success on the right. This able officer, with his fourteen hundred men, had repaired to the point assigned to him on the evening of the 7th, but found the boats not yet arrived; and it was not till near midnight that a number, barely sufficient to transport a third part of his troops across, were brought up. Deeming it, however, of essential importance to co-operate at the appointed time in the proposed attack, he moved over with a third of his men, and by a sudden charge, at the head of part of the 85th and a body of seamen, headed by himself, on the flank of the works, succeeded in making himself master of the redoubt with very little loss, though defended by twenty-two guns and seventeen hundred men, and amply stored with supplies of all sorts. He was just preparing, when the daylight broke, to turn these guns on the enemy's

flank, which lay entirely exposed to their fire, when advices were received from General Lambert, of the defeat of the attack on the left bank of the river. Colonel Dickson was sent over to examine the situation of the battery which had been won, and report whether it was tenable; but he did not deem it defensible except with a larger force than Lambert could dispose of for that purpose, and therefore this detachment was drawn back to the left bank of the river, and the troops at all points returned to their camp.¹

The British troops, after this bloody defeat, were in a very critical position, far advanced into the enemy's country, with a victorious army, double their own strength, in their front, and a desert country, fourteen miles broad, to traverse in their rear, before they reached their ships. Lambert, not deeming himself in sufficient strength to renew the attack, retreated on the night of the 18th, and effected the movement with such ability that the whole field artillery, ammunition, and stores of every description, were brought away, excepting eight heavy guns, which were destroyed. The whole wounded also were removed, except eighty of the worst cases, with whom movement would have been dangerous, who were left to the humanity of the enemy: a duty which General Jackson discharged with a zeal and attention worthy of the ability and gallantry he had displayed in the action. The British troops were safely re-embarked on the 27th, and soon after in some degree consoled for their disasters by the capture of Fort Boyer, near Mobile, commanding one of the mouths of the Mississippi; which yielded, with its garrison of three hundred and sixty men and twenty-two guns, to a combined attack of the land and sea forces on the 12th February. On the very next day intelligence was received of the conclusion of peace between the United States and Great Britain at Ghent.²

Conferences had for some time been going on at that city in the Netherlands, between the British and American commissioners; and as the termination of the Continental war had entirely set at rest, at least for the present, the question of neutral flags, and the United States were in no condition to sustain a war singly with Great Britain, for the mere assertion of sailors' privileges in opposition

CHAP.
XCI.

1814.

¹ Thornton's
Official
Account,
Ann. Reg.
147. App.
to Chron. for
1815.
James's
Mil. Occur.
ii. 356, 361.

109.

Re-embarka-
tion of the
troops, and
capture of
Fort Boyer
near Mobile.

Feb. 12.
² General
Lambert's
Official
Account,
Feb. 14,
1815. Ann.
Reg. 1815.
159, 161.
App. to
Chron. and
Jan. 28,
1815; Ibid.
149. James's
Mil. Occur.
ii. 364, 371.
Armstrong,
ii. 174.

110.

Conclusion of
peace at
Ghent.

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XCI.

1815.

Dec. 24,
1814.

to the right of search to apprehend deserters, there was no difficulty in coming to an accommodation. Accordingly on the 24th December a treaty was concluded at Ghent, on terms highly honourable to Great Britain. A general restitution of conquests and acquisitions on both sides was stipulated, with the exception of the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay, which were to remain as to possession *in statu quo* until the decision of the commissioners appointed by the two governments, and in the event of their differing in opinion, the decision of some friendly sovereign, whose judgment was to be final. The more important point of the boundary between the American State of Maine and the British province of New Brunswick, which has since become the subject of such angry contention, between both the governments and the inhabitants of the two countries, was in like manner referred to two commissioners, one to be appointed by each party; and, failing their decision, or in the event of their differing in opinion, to the decision of "some friendly sovereign or state, whose judgment shall be final and conclusive."* A similar provision was made for the ascertainment of the disputed boundary, through the Lakes Ontario, Erie, Superior, and the Lake of the Woods. It was stipulated that neither party should keep up any armed vessels on the Lakes; in consequence of which all such were sunk in the mud. All hostilities with the Indian tribes were forthwith to cease, on the part of both the contracting parties; and it was further provided, "that whereas the traffic in slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice,¹ and whereas both his Majesty and the United

¹ See the Treaty in Ann. Reg. 1815, 352, 358. State Papers; and Martens' Sup. ii. 76.

* "Whereas neither that part of the highlands lying due north from the source of the river St Croix, designated in the former treaty of peace between the two powers as the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, nor the north-westmost head of the Connecticut river, have yet been ascertained; and whereas that part of the boundary line between the dominions of the two powers which extends from the source of the river St Croix directly north to the above-mentioned north-west angle of Nova Scotia; thence along the said highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the north-westmost head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the 45th degree of north latitude; thence by a line due west on said latitude till it strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraguy, has not yet been surveyed—it is agreed that, for these several purposes, two commissioners shall be appointed, sworn, and authorised, to examine and decide upon the said claims, according to such evidence as shall be laid before them by his Britannic Majesty and the United States respectively; and in the event of their differing, both parties agree to abide by the decision of such friendly sovereign or state as shall be mutually chosen."—See *Ann. Reg.* 1815, 354; *State Papers*.

States are desirous of continuing their efforts to procure its entire abolition, it is hereby agreed that both the contracting parties shall use their best endeavours to accomplish so desirable an object." Nothing was said either regarding the flag covering the merchandise, or on the right of search for seamen, claimed and exercised by Great Britain.

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1815.

Such was the treaty of Ghent, which put an end to the bloody and costly war between Great Britain and America. That it was advantageous to England, and that the United States emerged upon the whole worsted from the fight, is evident from the consideration, that neither the ostensible nor the real objects of the latter in engaging in the contest were attained. The ostensible objects were establishing the principles, that the flag covers the merchandise, and that the right of search for seamen who had deserted is inadmissible. The real objects were to wrest from Great Britain the Canadas, and, in conjunction with Napoleon, extinguish its maritime and colonial empire. Neither object was attained, for peace was concluded without one word being said about neutral rights; and so far from losing her North American possessions, Great Britain retained every part of them, and emerged from the contest with a much stronger and more defensible colonial dominion than that with which she went into it. Yet were the great questions really at issue in the war rather adjourned than decided; and the treaty itself is to be regarded rather as a long truce than a final pacification. The Maine frontier line remained undecided; a territory as large as all England, and part of which is of vital importance to the security of our American possessions, was left in dispute between the parties; the commissioners of the two powers, as might have been expected, adhered to the views of their respective cabinets; the award, in 1834, of the King of the Netherlands, who was chosen umpire, which divided the disputed territory between the parties, satisfied neither side, and by common consent was repudiated. The right claimed by Great Britain of searching merchant vessels remained untouched, and was therefore virtually conceded; the important duty of searching for slaves, left unsettled, threatens, at no distant period, to render it again the subject of angry contention

III.
Reflections
on this
treaty.

CHAP.
XCI.
1815.

between the two nations; and the triumphs of Plattsburg and New Orleans, with which the war terminated, have so elated the inhabitants of the United States, and blinded them to the real weakness of their situation, that there is too much room to fear, that out of this premature and incomplete pacification, a future and calamitous war between the two countries may one day spring.

112.
Reflections
on the battle
at New
Orleans.

The heroic valour displayed by Sir Edward Pakenham, General Keane, and their brave comrades, in the attempt to carry by storm the lines before New Orleans, must not make us shut our eyes to the gallant and honourable, but still imprudent, hardihood which made them unduly despise their enemy, and seek to gain by force what might have been achieved by combination. When we recollect that Colonel Thornton, with his column, carried the battery on the right bank of the river with hardly any loss, thereby completely turning the enemy's position, rendering it untenable against any considerable force cannonading from that side, and exposing the city to an immediate attack from a quarter where it had no defence, it is impossible not to regret the imprudent and needless display of valour which was attended with so grievous a loss, and caused to miscarry an enterprise so well conceived, and up to that point so ably executed. True, various unforeseen accidents conspired to mar the assault; the boats did not get through the canal so soon as had been expected, so that Thornton's co-operation on the right, came too late to retrieve affairs on the left bank; and the unhappy oblivion of, or delay in bringing up, the fascines and scaling-ladders, converted what might have been a successful assault there into a bloody repulse. But still these accidents are the usual attendants of a night assault, especially where the columns of attack are combined from different quarters; and the point is, Might not the risk of incurring them have been avoided by throwing the whole troops on the right bank of the river as soon as the boats were got up and launched on its waters, being thus rendered unavailing all the formidable intrenchments there? This was what Napoleon, by the passage of the Danube at Enzersdorf, did in regard

to those erected at so great a cost of labour by the Austrians in front of Essling. It would appear that the rapid and brilliant success of a small British force at Bladensberg, as well as on many occasions in Canada, when they met the troops of the United States in the open field, had rendered the English general insensible to the dangers of attacking them when behind formidable intrenchments, and caused him to forget that the American rifle, though unable to withstand the shock of the English bayonet in regular combat, is a most formidable weapon when wielded by gallant hands behind trees, or under shelter of the redoubts, which so rapidly, and often fatally, equalise the veteran and the inexperienced soldier.

Perhaps no nation ever suffered so severely by war as the Americans did from this contest, in their external and commercial relations. Their foreign trade, anterior to the estrangement from Great Britain so flourishing, as to amount to £22,000,000 of exports, and £28,000,000 of imports, carried on in one million three hundred thousand tons of shipping, was, literally speaking, and by no figure of speech, *annihilated*; for the official returns show that the former had sunk in 1814 to £1,400,000, or little more than an eighteenth part of their former amount, the latter to less than three millions.* The capture of no less than fourteen hundred American vessels of war and merchandise, appeared in the London Gazette during the two years and a-half of the struggle,¹ besides probably an equal number which were too inconsiderable to enter that register; and although, no doubt, they retaliated actively and effectively by their ships of war and privateers on

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XCI.
1815.

113.
Immense
losses of the
Americans
during the
war.

¹ Brenton, ii.
539.

* Total of American exports and imports during three years before the rupture with Great Britain, and during the three years of its continuance. Dollars converted at 4s. 2d. to the dollar.

		Exports.			Imports.
1805,	.	£19,909,589	.	.	£25,125,000
1806,	.	21,153,552	.	.	26,978,416
1807,	.	22,571,488	.	.	28,869,765
1812,	.	8,026,506	.	.	16,047,916
1813,	.	5,813,322	.	.	4,584,375
1814,	.	1,443,216	.	.	2,701,041

--PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, ii. 191.

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XCI.

1815.

114.
Total ruin of
the American
resources
during the
contest.

British commerce, yet the number of these was too small to produce any considerable set-off to such immense losses.

The rapid growth of British commerce,* when placed in juxtaposition to the almost total extinction of that of the United States, demonstrates decisively that, while the contest lasted, the sinews of war were increasing in the one country as rapidly as they were drying up in the other. In truth, the ordinary American revenue, almost entirely derived from customhouse duties, nearly vanished during the continuance of the contest, and the deficit required to be made up by excise and direct taxes levied in the interior, and loans, which in the year 1814 amounted to no less than twenty million five hundred thousand dollars, or above £4,100,000 sterling; an immense sum for a state, the annual income of which in ordinary times was only twenty-three million dollars, or £4,600,000. Two-thirds of the mercantile and trading classes in all the states of the Union became insolvent during these disastrous years; and such was the suffering and public discontent in the northern states of Massachusetts and Connecticut, that it altogether overcame their sentiment of nationality, and a part of the inhabitants, when peace arrived, were preparing steps to break off from the Union, assert their national independence, and make peace with Great Britain, the future protector of their republic.¹

¹ Tocq. i.
289. Ann.
Reg. 1814,
193. Ante,
x.

A war, fraught with such disasters to the United States,

* Table showing the official value of British exports and imports in the same years as in the preceding table.

Exports.			Total.	Imports.
	Foreign and Colonial.	British Manu- factures.		
1805	7,643,120	23,376,941	£31,020,061	£28,561,270
1806	7,717,555	25,861,879	33,379,424	26,899,658
1807	7,624,312	23,391,214	31,015,526	26,734,425
1812	9,533,065	29,508,508	38,041,573	26,163,431
1813	Records	destroyed	by fire.	—
1814	19,365,981	34,207,253	53,573,234	33,755,264

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, ii. 98.

was not without its evils also to the inhabitants of Great Britain. In ordinary times, the closing of the North American market, which at that period took off, on an average of years, twelve millions' worth of British produce and manufactures, would have been most severely felt, and it was mainly to its stoppage that the great distresses in England in 1811 and the first months of 1812 had been owing. But this market had, from the operation of the American embargo and non-intercourse act, been long in abeyance; commerce had discovered new channels; and an ample compensation for its loss, for the time at least, had been found in the markets of Russia, Germany, and Italy, now suddenly thrown open to British enterprise by the triumphs of the Allied arms. But a lasting effect, fraught with consequences injurious to British manufacturing interests, was found in the forcible direction of a large portion of the capital, and no inconsiderable part of the industry, of the United States, to manufacturing employment; an effect which has survived the temporary causes which gave it birth, and, by permanently investing large capitals in that species of industry, has rendered the subsequent exports of Great Britain, if the vast increase of population in the United States is taken into account, by no means so considerable as they were before the war. When the great and growing extent of the British colonies, and the prodigious market they have opened and are opening to British manufacturing industry, both in the eastern and western hemisphere, are considered, this dependence for the sale of so large a portion of our manufactures on any foreign nation whatever, may possibly appear to be fraught with serious danger, and its curtailment rather a benefit than an injury. But an unmixed evil has arisen from the jealousy of British manufactures which has necessarily grown up, especially in the northern States of the Union, from the growing importance of their own fabrics, and the animosity against this country which has in consequence arisen in those states, that, when the war commenced, were most firmly attached to our alliance.

When we consider the vast evils to both countries which must inevitably arise from a renewal of hostilities between America and Great Britain; when we recollect

CHAP.
XCI.

1815.

115.
Pernicious
effects of this
war to the
manufac-
turing inte-
rests of
Great
Britain.

CHAP.
XCI.

1815.

116.
Evils which a
rupture with
the United
States would
produce.1. Porter's
Parl. Tables,
ix. 591, 592.

that our exports to the United States are still on an average eight millions annually in ordinary seasons ; when we call to mind that England is the great market for the cotton of the southern states, and that the intercourse between the two countries is so immense, that out of two million and ninety-six thousand tons of shipping, which now carry on the foreign trade of the United States, no less than seven hundred and fifty-four thousand are employed in conducting the traffic between the two countries ;¹ when we remember that the connexion between them is so close, that failures to any great extent in the American provinces never fail to produce stagnation and distress in the manufacturing districts of Great Britain ; and that two consecutive bad harvests in the British Islands, by the strain on the money market of London which they occasioned, caused the whole banks of the southern states of America, including the national bank of the United States, to fall in 1839 ; it will appear hardly possible that human folly could go so far as to force on hostilities between the two nations. This will appear the more improbable, when it is recollected how strenuously and laudably the supreme government, in both countries, have laboured to remove or soften, of late years, all causes of discord between them ; and how clearly the leading men in the United States, as well as in this country, are impressed with the indissoluble union which subsists between their interests, and the disastrous effect which a rupture could not fail to have upon them. Nevertheless, nothing is more certain than that hostilities with the United States are not only probable but imminent ; that the deep wounds they will inflict upon either country will furnish no security against their occurrence ; and that, however much the patriots of both may lament, it is also their duty to provide against them. The solution of this apparent paradox is easy, if the nature of the two governments is taken into consideration.

117.
Danger of it
notwith-
standing, and
real sources
of it.

Democracy is universally and necessarily *expansive* ; for the superabundant energy which it generates at home, can only find vent in foreign acquisition. Whether it is *aggressive* or not, depends upon the situation of the democratic power, and the means it enjoys of finding vent, either in the pacific establishment of colonies, or unwarlike

conquests with the sword. Carthage and Tyre in ancient, Genoa, Venice, and Great Britain, in modern times, have chiefly poured forth their superfluous numbers and energy in colonisation: Sparta, Athens, and Rome, of old, and republican France in our own day, have forced their way into the adjoining states, not with the olive branch of colonial industry, but with the sword of ruthless conquest. If we could judge how rapidly and certainly democratic institutions render a powerful nation aggressive, we have only to look to the numerous wars of conquest which have been undertaken by Great Britain in the East, especially since the great democratic convulsion of 1832. America shares to the full in these spreading propensities of all republican communities; and such is the growth of its population, that expansion is to it the condition of existence. It is impossible that two such communities, brought in so many points into contact, and having so many subjects of national as well as individual rivalry, should not ere long be brought into collision. Large as it is, the New World is not, at least in their own opinion, large enough for both.

The pretensions the Americans have set up to an immense portion of the British possessions in Maine, and which they have succeeded by the treaty of 1842 in establishing to the extent of nearly a half, but which a glance at the map must convince every unprejudiced mind are wholly unfounded,* arise from this expansive and aggressive propensity of democracy. They would willingly shoulder off the white man in the North, as they have done the red man in the West, or the effeminate Spaniard in the South. No dangers, no ultimate consequences will deter them; no wisdom on the part of government will be able to restrain them. The question will not be, what do Mr Webster or the enlightened patriots of Washington desire, but what have the ardent democrats of Maine, the Ohio, and the Mississippi deter-

CHAP.
XCI.
1813.

118.
Aggressive
disposition of
the Americans,
as of all
democratic
states.

* It has been established since the signing of the treaty of 1842, which, happily for both countries, set this question at rest, that the line contended for by the British, was even less favourable to them than that originally intended by Franklin and the authors of the treaty of 1782. The discovery in the Foreign Office at Paris of the original map, with the boundary intended delineated in a broad red line by Franklin himself, from Metjarret to Mars-hill, by the south Arrooftook mountains, has set the matter at rest.—See MR FEATHERSTON-HAUGH's *Pamphlet*, and BUCKINGHAM'S *Canada*, 517, 519.

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1815.

mined? It is there that the ruling power of America is to be found: it is in their dispositions and passions that the spring of its future fortunes is placed. That they are essentially both expansive and aggressive, can be doubted by none who have watched the systematic efforts which they have made along the Canadian frontier for several years past to bring on a war with Great Britain. They would suffer little, at least in the first instance, from such a contest, for their connexions are all inland, and their main dependence is on agricultural labour. If they derive no other satisfaction from hostilities, they will at least be sure of this, to them no small one, of seeing the commercial wealth and paper aristocracy of New York, Pennsylvania, and the great cities on the coast, the object of their undying jealousy, destroyed by the first convulsion consequent on a rupture.

Regarding, then, hostilities with the United States as not only probable, but, it is to be feared, ultimately unavoidable, it is of importance to gather such lessons from the past as may best avoid disaster in the future.

119.
Weakness of
America in
the outset,
and vigour in
the end.

I. Democracy in war is just the reverse of paper credit; it is weakness in the outset, but strength in the end. Its uniform want of preparation, and resistance to present burdens for the sake of future advantages, induce the former; its inherent energy and inexhaustible resources, when fully roused, occasion the latter. It will be wisdom in British statesmen to calculate on both these occurrences. They should recollect that in 1812 the Americans rushed into long meditated war with Great Britain with four frigates, eight sloops, and six thousand men; but they should recollect also that with these tiny forces they achieved more remarkable victories over the British at sea than the French did during the whole course of the revolutionary war, and baffled at land the veterans of the Peninsular campaigns. In a contest with America, therefore, more than with any other power, it is of the highest importance to strike hard and successfully in the outset. The superior military and naval establishments, more ample revenue, and larger share of patrician direction of Great Britain, give her the means of inflicting the most serious blows on America in the commencement of the war; while the extraordinary vigour of the American

people, and their native courage, render it all but certain that success will come to be more nearly balanced in the end. Every thing, therefore, will depend on the energy with which hostilities are *at first* conducted, and the skilful direction of the strokes which are first delivered.

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II. In such a contest, it is more than probable that England will, in the first instance, assume the offensive, and strive to make the United States feel the weight of her fleets and armies, before they have assembled any considerable or experienced forces for their defence. Towards success in such a warfare, however, it is indispensable that adequate forces should, from the very outset, be placed at the disposal of her military commanders, and the wretched system of starving the war in the beginning be from the beginning abandoned. Every shilling saved then will cost a pound before hostilities are over. The deplorable plan of sending out a seventy-four gun ship, four or five frigates, and three thousand soldiers, to keep the coasts of the United States in a state of alarm, must never again be renewed. Its failure in the two first campaigns against a much more unwarlike enemy, the Chinese, has sufficiently stamped its absurdity. If it is, a repetition of the failure at Baltimore, and the disaster at New Orleans, may with confidence be anticipated. A squadron of ships of the line and armed steamers, such as that which tore down the ramparts of Acre, should at once be equipped and kept together; not less than ten, if possible fifteen thousand land troops, should be put on board. Such a force, if directed by able officers, would, with the powerful aid of war steamers, and the present gunnery of the British marine, destroy the whole naval establishments of the United States in a single campaign. The employment of a few thousand men, merely to land here and there, as we did at Baltimore, and as we have recently done in China, would infallibly terminate, after great expense, in disappointment and defeat. The Americans will not succumb, as the Chinese did when similarly attacked, when six thousand men appear before New York or Baltimore.

120.
Necessity of
concentrating
the British
forces in such
a war.

III. The military resources of the United States to resist such a system of warfare are perfectly trifling; and there is no likelihood, as long as the democratic *régime*

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1815.

121.
Military
force by
which we are
likely to be
opposed.

continues in that country, of their consenting during peace to such assessment as is necessary to give them any thing like a respectable military force at the commencement of hostilities. The militia, which is established in every part of the country, cannot be considered as affording a considerable addition, at any one point, to the military force of the United States. For it is not liable to be removed far from home, and therefore the defence of each place must rest with its own immediate neighbourhood ; and being exercised only three days in the year, and for the most part destitute even of uniform, it cannot be relied on for proper military operations in the field. But the experience of the last war demonstrates what, *à priori*, might have been already anticipated, that behind intrenchments or stockades, or in the defence of woody positions, this species of force, composed for the most part of brave men, habituated to the use of the rifle, may often be extremely formidable. And the example of the contest in the Tyrol in 1809, is not required to demonstrate that in such a warfare, skilful marksmen, well acquainted with the localities of the country they are employed to defend, may often succeed in defeating the best disciplined regular forces. It will be the wisdom of England, therefore, in any future hostilities, to make no attempt on the American coast but with a very powerful military force ; and if such is not at her disposal, to confine her efforts to a close blockade of the harbours of the United States, and bombardment of such towns as appear to be accessible to that species of attack.

122.
All attack on
private pro-
perty should
be avoided.

IV. In such a warfare, it is of the last importance that hostilities should be directed against *public* property or merchandise *afloat* only ; and that the piratical system recently adopted in China, of threatening with destruction a city not fortified, if it does not redeem itself by a large contribution, should above all things be avoided. This was just Napoleon's system of war, which ultimately occasioned his ruin ; and it was by steadily resisting any retaliation even of such a system upon him, that Wellington avoided lighting up a national resistance in the south of France. The conflagration of the public buildings, other than the arsenals, at Washington, was as injudicious as it was unwarranted ; it was that unhappy

step which produced the vigorous resistance at Baltimore, and manned the redoubts at New Orleans. The announcing of "Beauty and Booty" as the object of that expedition, which the American writers assert was done,¹ was the mode of all others best calculated to awaken a vigorous spirit of opposition. In every mercantile community where opulence has made any progress, the great object of the citizens is, to extricate their property without serious injury from the perils of war; and when the public defence has come to depend mainly on their exertions, it is seldom that they may not be paralysed by an offer of security to private property, and by restricting hostility to the armaments of the state. On the other hand, a sense of danger to their own possessions, from the city falling into the hands of the enemy, is more likely than any thing to rouse its burghers to an energetic defence; and the example of New Orleans may show what cost is incurred ere the resistance even of such urban militia can be overcome.

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¹ Arm. ii.
174.

V. The last war has clearly demonstrated that the command of the lakes is decisive of a campaign in the Canadian frontier; and that without it the best laid plans of defence may fail; and Wellington has recorded his decided opinion, that on a due ascendancy on the inland waters, the success of every contest between the British and Americans in that quarter is entirely dependent.* The two great discomfitures sustained at land in our North American possessions—the defeat of Proctor at the Moravian village, and the retreat of Prevost from Plattsburg—were the immediate consequences of the disasters on Lake Erie and Lake Champlain. The movement of Chauncey gained the ascendancy on Lake Ontario. Toronto was taken; and the serious invasion, which was arrested only by the heroism at Chippewa, was commenced. Knowing, then, where the danger lies, and where the means of averting it are to be found, it is the duty of the British government to be at all times prepared for hostilities, and in an especial manner ready at a moment's warning to equip or prepare a formidable naval force alike on Champlain, Erie, and Ontario. And on this subject it will be well to bear in mind two facts

123.

Absolute
necessity of
maintaining
a superiority
on the Lakes.* *Ante*, Chap. xci. § 99, note.

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XCI.

1815.

124.
Necessity of
timely pre-
parations of
the British,
to counter-
balance the
superior
advantages
of the Ameri-
cans for ship-
building on
the lakes.
¹ Cooper, ii.
520.

demonstrated by the experience of the last war, attention to which will prove of vital importance on the first renewal of hostilities.

1. That such are the facilities for ship-building on the lakes which the United States enjoy, partly from being at home on their shores, partly from the woods in their neighbourhood not having been felled to any considerable extent, that the American government had entered into a contract with ship-builders at Sackett's harbour in December 1814, to have two sail of the line of one-hundred guns each ready for sea on Lake Ontario within *sixty days* of the time when the timber was standing in the forest.¹ 2. That the rapidity of ship-building is much impaired on the British side, by the older civilisation of the country in the lower province, though it is otherwise in the upper, and the extent to which the forests near the waters on the Canadian shores have been felled for the market of Great Britain. In consequence, preparation and foresight are more imperatively required on the English than the American part. And let it be recollected, that early success, important in all wars, will probably prove decisive in the next contest with America, from the ardent passion which it will awaken in their democratic community, and the wide extent of defenceless shores which a superiority on the Lakes will at once expose to their incursions. Have we, then, an adequate supply of seasoned wood, and an ample stock of naval stores ready to turn instantly to the purposes of ship-building, so soon as hostilities break out, or appear imminent with the United States; and are these stores so well secured by fortifications as to be beyond the reach of a *coup-de-main*? These are questions upon which it well becomes the British government and nation to reflect: for upon the answer to them our preservation of Canada, our retention with it of one-fourth of our commercial marine, and consequent maintenance of our maritime superiority and national existence, are indissolubly wound up.

VI. It must be evident to every observer, that the British government were much in error in many particulars connected with the late war with America. Undue contempt for their adversaries—ignorance of the peculiar style of frigates which they had constructed—

imperfect and hasty manning of vessels—neglect in providing adequate crews of seamen for the vessels on the lakes, lay at the root of all the disasters which were incurred. The extraordinary pressure of the later years of the war, the wants of a navy which had then six hundred ships of war in commission, and the absolute necessity of directing every spare hand and guinea to the prosecution of the contest with Napoleon, may excuse these neglects previous to the taking of Paris. But they furnish no apology for their continuance after that period; and it was precisely then that the greatest disasters were incurred. No excuse will remain for a repetition of such errors in any future contest. We know to what causes our past reverses have been owing, and we will have ourselves to blame if they are again incurred. And of all the necessities of such a contest, there is none so urgent as that of providing in its very outset adequate crews of *skilled* seamen, both for the squadrons on the lakes, and for the single vessels intended to combat the detached frigates which the Americans will certainly send out to cruise against our marine. Unless this is attended to, it is next to certain that disaster will be incurred; for they will man a few frigates at sea, and squadrons on the lakes, with the choice of fifty thousand seamen, thrown idle by the blockade of their harbours, and having one-half of their number English sailors.

VII. If due attention be paid to these measures of provident defence, it does not appear that any apprehension need be entertained that America will succeed, by force of arms, in wresting Canada from the British crown. It is vain for the United States to refer to their fifteen hundred thousand militia in arms: these local forces, for the most part wretchedly disciplined, and spread over an extent of territory equal to all Europe, can add little to the strength of an invading army. Such an irruption, if it is to be carried beyond the burning a few towns or arsenals on the frontier, must be conducted by means of regular forces, and the American democracy will never tax themselves, during peace, for the establishment of a powerful standing army. If, indeed, they could make war maintain war, and, like Napoleon, quarter half their troops permanently on other countries; or like the

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XCI.

1815.

125.

Errors of the
British
government
in the late
war.

126.

There is little
danger of
Canada
being con-
quered by
America.

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XCI.

1815.

Romans, after the subjugation of Macedonia, proclaim a universal liberation from imposts to themselves as the result of their conquests, there can be no doubt that they would gladly accede to any augmentation of their standing army. But as there is no chance of their effecting such a transference of burdens to the shoulders of the vanquished, by the conquest of their only neighbours, the Mexicans and savages, taxation, to be effective, must begin at home; and therefore, while the present constitution lasts, it never will be attempted, at least for prospective objects. The militia of the North American provinces of Great Britain amount now to above a hundred thousand; and, from a population of seventeen hundred thousand souls, they are capable of being raised to double that amount. Such a force, though of little service, from the difficulty of moving it, in offensive operations, is, with the aid of twenty thousand regular British soldiers, amply sufficient, especially in a woody country, to repel any invasion which the United States, with an army in peace of only twelve thousand men, could bring against it.

127.
The Americans are not likely to become a great naval power.

¹ Stat. Alm. of America, 77.

VIII. Notwithstanding the brilliant exploits of the American navy in the late war, and the serious conflicts which always will await the British in contending with them on that element, it may well be doubted whether the United States are ever destined to become a great naval power. Their reluctance to submit to any heavy or direct taxation during peace, with a view to secure the contingent benefits of war, must permanently prevent them from equipping an adequate number of ships. They have now a population of seventeen millions, being nearly the population of the British islands at the close of the war with Napoleon: Great Britain had then two hundred and thirty ships of the line, and seven hundred and sixty-seven frigates and smaller vessels in her navy; and America has now, including all building, just eleven ships of the line, seventeen frigates, and thirty-three brigs and sloops.¹ The prodigious outlet for population and industry in the basin of the Mississippi, the great fortunes to be realised there, and the evident determination of the inhabitants of the United States in that direction, leaves little doubt that agricultural industry will form the staple

of the country for a course of ages. America, with its population of seventeen millions, has now only fifty-six thousand sailors in her commercial marine:¹ Great Britain, with its population of twenty-seven millions, has two hundred thousand. Of the fifty-six thousand sailors in the United States, it is understood no less than thirty-three thousand are of British origin.² And, what decisively proves that the situation of Britain is better adapted for seafaring employment than that of America,—it appears from the Parliamentary returns, that while the reciprocity system, during the twenty years of its continuance, has nearly extinguished the British trade with the Baltic powers, and augmented theirs with England in a similar proportion, alone of all other countries it has led to the increase of British in a much greater ratio than of American shipping in carrying on the trade of the United States.* And although, therefore, her tonnage is now very considerable, yet above a third of it is employed in the trade with Great Britain or her colonial possessions; while of the total tonnage of the British islands

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¹ Census,
1840.² Captain
Marryat's
America.

* Table showing the comparative progress of British and American tonnage in conducting the trade with the United States:—

	British Tons.		American Tons.	
1821,	-	55,188	-	765,098
1822,	-	70,669	-	787,961
1823,	-	89,553	-	775,271
1824,	-	67,351	-	850,033
1825,	-	63,036	-	880,754
1826,	-	69,295	-	942,206
1827,	-	99,114	-	918,361
1828,	-	104,167	-	868,381
1829,	-	86,377	-	872,949
1830,	-	87,231	-	967,227
1831,	-	215,887	-	922,952
1832,	-	288,841	-	949,622
1833,	-	383,487	-	1,111,441
1834,	-	453,495	-	1,074,670
1835,	-	529,922	-	1,352,653
British shipping has, during these fifteen years, increased			860	per cent.
American,			77	—

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, ii. 167. Since that time, however, the shipping both British and foreign with America, has amazingly declined, as appears from the subjoined table:—The great American crash in 1836 explains the great decrease.

1836,	-	82,453	-	236,293
1837,	-	81,023	-	275,813
1838,	-	83,203	-	357,467
1839,	-	92,482	-	282,005
1840,	-	138,201	-	426,867
1841,	-	121,999	-	294,170
1842,	-	152,833	-	319,524

—PORTER'S *Parl. Tables*, Vols. vi. to xii. p. 44, 48.

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XCI.

1815.

128.
Danger from
colonial de-
fection.

not one-ninth part is employed in conducting the commercial intercourse with the American Republic.*

IX. After all that can be done to secure our North American possessions by the prudence and foresight of the mother country, their maintenance must always chiefly depend on the attachment and support of their inhabitants. Much as all must lament the effect which the unprincipled acts and criminal ambition of the revolutionists of Lower Canada have had, in alienating the affections of the simple-minded and industrious, and once loyal and devoted inhabitants of the lower province from the British government, the evil done is not yet irremediable; and, if met in the right spirit, it may be rendered, as passing evils often are, of lasting benefit. It will bring to light and force into notice many evils that otherwise might have lain unobserved, and clearly suggest the necessity of their removal. The vast increase of the British inhabitants of Upper Canada, the province of our North American possessions most exposed to incursion from the United States, is an additional ground for security. But the attachment and co-operation even of that gallant and loyal race can be permanently relied on only in one way, and that is, by the adoption and steady prosecution of a good system of colonial government.

Total American and foreign tonnage in the year 1838:—

						Tons.
American,	.	.	.	.	.	1,477,928
Foreign,	.	.	.	.	.	624,814
Total,						2,102,742
Of which to Great Britain and Ireland,	.	.	.	.	.	269,466
„ North American colonies,	.	.	.	.	.	385,506
„ East Indies,	.	.	.	.	.	10,557
„ West Indies,	.	.	.	.	.	76,749
„ Guiana,	.	.	.	.	.	4,392
„ Honduras,	.	.	.	.	.	6,434
„ Australia,	.	.	.	.	.	1,053
Total tonnage to British Empire,						754,157
Tonnage of Great Britain in 1838:—						
						Tons.
British,	.	.	.	.	.	2,876,236
Foreign,	.	.	.	.	.	1,222,803
Total,						4,099,039
Of which to America—British,	.	.	.	.	.	109,951
„ „ —American,	.	.	.	.	.	373,810
Total to United States,						483,761

—PORTER'S *Parl. Tables*, ix. 591, 592; and 43, 44.

What should be the leading principle of such a government is no longer a matter of doubt ; it was announced eighteen hundred years ago as the rule of all intercourse between man and man ; and subsequent experience has only tended to demonstrate its universal application as well to individual as to national transactions. It is simply to do as we would be done by. Consider the colonies as distant provinces of the empire ; regard them in the same light as Yorkshire or Middlesex ; treat them accordingly, and it will be long indeed ere they will seek to throw off the British connexion. Legislate for them as you would wish they should legislate for you, if Quebec or Calcutta were the seat of the central government, and Great Britain and Ireland the remote dependencies. Seek no profit of them which you are not willing that they should make of you ; subject them to no burdens for your own advantage which you are not willing to bear for theirs ; give them, in so far as distance and circumstances will admit, the same privileges and rights which you yourselves enjoy. It was neglect of these first principles, so easy to see, so hard to practise, which lost the British the United States in North, and the Spaniards the whole of South America ; it is in their observance that the only real security for our present magnificent colonial empire is to be found. And this affords another example of the all-important truth, which so many other passages of contemporary history tend to illustrate, that the laws of morality are not less applicable to social or political than to private conduct ; and that the only secure foundation for national prosperity is to be found in the observance of that system of combined justice and good-will in the concerns of nations, which the gospel has prescribed as the rule for private life.

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129.

True prin-
ciple of
colonial
government.

CHAPTER XCII.

CONGRESS OF VIENNA, AND RETURN OF NAPOLEON
FROM ELBA.CHAP.
XCII.

1815.

1.
Extraordi-
nary and
unanimous
enthusiasm
in Great
Britain after
the peace.

THE glorious termination of the war excited a degree of enthusiastic joy in the British dominions, of which it is impossible to give an adequate idea, and of which subsequent ages will scarcely be able to form a conception. A great proportion of the people had grown into existence during the continuance of the contest, and inhaled with their earliest breath an ardent desire for its success: all capable of reflection felt, that whatever opinion they might have entertained as to its policy in the outset, the fate and character of the British empire had been irrevocably staked upon the throw, and that their own and their children's freedom depended upon its result. The progress of the struggle had been watched with intense, and often hopeless anxiety: its conclusion was marked by a splendour as unlooked-for as it was unexampled. With whatever diversity of feelings its commencement had been regarded by the great parties who divided the nation, its long continuance had united in their wishes all but a few soured and inveterate party leaders: the bloody triumphs of the French Revolutionists had alarmed even the warmest votaries of liberty: the stern despotism of Napoleon had alienated their affections; his unrelenting war against freedom terrified their adherents.

The patriots rejoiced in the result, because it secured the glory and independence of their country: the partisans of the aristocracy, because it closed a gulf which threatened to swallow up all ancient institutions: the friends of liberty, because it had been achieved by the

united efforts of the European people, and appeared likely to terminate in the establishment of lasting freedom in France. The former anticipated the commencement of an era of unexampled prosperity from the sacrifices which had been made: the latter beheld, in the necessities to which the continental sovereigns had been reduced, and the spirit which they had been compelled to call forth, the dawn of a brighter day in the annals of freedom. The visit of the Allied sovereigns to England, in the summer of 1814, wound up these feelings to the very highest pitch. All ranks, from the throne to the cottage, shared in the general enthusiasm. In the anxiety and animation of public events, the distresses and the joys of private life were for a time forgotten: misery itself lost its poignancy in the contagion of general exultation. No other subject was spoken of in the streets, no other canvassed in company, hardly any other thought of in private. The feelings of the whole British nation resembled those of a crowded audience in a theatre, when the genius of the actor, and the enthusiasm of a multitude, break down the barriers of individual restraint, and draw from assembled thousands one simultaneous burst of common emotion.

Even after "the festive cities' blaze" was no longer seen, and the roar of artillery had ceased to cause the heart to throb, more thoughtful observers reflected with feelings of extraordinary thankfulness for the past, and sanguine anticipations for the future, on the marvellous events of the war. There seemed a poetical justice in its result, an equity in the retribution which had befallen the great and guilty nation, which spoke at once the present God. Anticipations the most sanguine on the future progress of liberty in France itself, were formed by its most zealous supporters in this country. "Deplorable as have been the excesses," it was said, "bloodstained the hands of the first apostles of freedom in that country, their labours have not been in vain. A constitutional monarchy has at last been erected: guarantees of liberty have been established. Compared with the freedom she will enjoy under the restoration, her condition under the old monarchy was slavery itself. The blood of Robespierre was but for a season: the carnage of Napoleon has passed away; but

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1815.

2.

Views of
different
parties on
the war.

3.

Anticipations
of the friends
of freedom on
the results of
the Revolution.

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XCII.
1815.

4.
Very different was the
real issue of
events.

the glorious fabric of freedom has emerged unsullied even from the sanguinary hands of its founders, and a brighter era opened on the human race, from the very crimes which appeared to overcast its prospects."

Such hopes are the dream of the poet; they constitute the denouement of romance, they form the charm of the melodrama, but they are not the history of man. A constant struggle with evil, a perpetual contest for the mastery with the powers of sin, is his destiny from the cradle to the grave of nations. The crimes committed during the Revolution had been too great, the breaches formed too wide, the blood shed too profuse, the injuries inflicted too serious, to admit of a pacific and prosperous society being built up out of the ruins they had produced. Human passions do not subside like the waves of the ocean when the winds are stilled; human iniquity, once let loose, cannot be restrained so soon as the original actors in it have been destroyed. The winged words spoken, the immortal thoughts written, the irreparable deeds done, must work out their appropriate effect; for good or for evil they are committed to the stream of time, and generations yet unborn must reap their fruits. Irreligion, passion, the thirst for illicit gratification, are easily let in to a nation: they find a ready entrance in the deceitful desires of the human heart; they are admitted amidst a chorus of joyous hopes and sanguine anticipations. Ages must elapse, generations unborn must descend to their tomb, possibly a new dominant race be introduced from distant and uncorrupted states, before they can be extirpated. The effect of noble thoughts, of just principles, of elevated conceptions, is never lost; it is more durable upon the human race, and often finally improves its fortunes. But in the first instance it is incomparably more slow, in the purification of mankind, than the passions of vice are in corrupting them. He knew the destiny of mortals, and the laws of the moral world well, who said, "For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, and visit the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and show mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments."

The peace with France formed the subject of universal

thought throughout the nation ; but its conditions were so glorious to this country, that they could hardly form the subject of debate in parliament, and mere congratulatory addresses are hardly worthy of a place in history. Munificent provision, though not beyond his deserts, was made in testimony of the national gratitude to the Duke of Wellington. It was proposed by government that £300,000 should be voted to that illustrious commander, in addition to the £100,000 already bestowed on him by parliament ; but when the subject was brought forward in the House of Commons, it was proposed by Mr Whitbread and Mr Ponsonby, highly to their honour, considering the persevering resistance they had made to the war, that it should be increased to £400,000, making half a million in all which he had received from the gratitude of his country. The enlarged sum was voted without a dissentient voice ; so completely had the transcendent services of the British hero stifled the voice of envy and stilled the passions of political hostility. Sir Thomas Graham was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Lynedoch, with a pension of £2000 a-year to himself and his two following heirs : similar honours and pensions were bestowed on Marshal Beresford and Sir Rowland Hill, who became Lords Beresford and Hill. All these grants were in like manner passed unanimously ; and the gratitude of the crown was appropriately evinced by raising all his principal officers, including Picton, Cole, Leith, Clinton, and almost all the names which have now acquired a durable place in history, to the honours of knighthood ; while ribands and stars were profusely scattered among their less elevated brethren in arms. Wellington himself, with the unanimous approbation of the nation, was elevated to the rank of duke.¹

A striking and impressive scene occurred when the British hero was presented to the House of Commons, to receive publicly the thanks of the House for the achievements which had shed such lustre on his country. He was received with loud cheers, all the members standing ; and the Speaker addressed him in the following eloquent and dignified terms :—" My Lord, since I last had the honour of addressing you from this place, a series of

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1815.

5.

Munificent
grant to the
Duke of
Wellington
and his chief
generals.
July 7.

April 12.

¹ Parl. Deb.
xxvii. 826,
834. Ann.
Reg. 1814,
137, 139.

6.

Wellington's
reception by
the House of
Commons,
and the
Speaker's
address.
July 1.

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eventful years has elapsed, but none without some mark and note of your rising glory. The military triumphs which your valour has achieved upon the banks of the Douro and the Tagus, of the Ebro and the Garonne, have called forth the spontaneous shouts of admiring nations. Their names have been written by your conquering sword in the annals of Europe, and we shall hand them down with exultation to our children's children. It is not, however, the grandeur of military success which has alone fixed our admiration, or commanded our applause; it has been that generous and lofty spirit which inspired your troops with unbounded confidence, and taught them to know that the day of battle was always a day of victory; that moral courage and enduring fortitude, which in perilous times, when gloom and doubt had beset ordinary minds, stood nevertheless unshaken; and that ascendancy of character, which, uniting the energies of jealous and rival nations, enabled you to wield at will the fate and fortunes of mighty empires. For the repeated thanks and grants bestowed upon you by this House, in gratitude for your eminent services, you have thought fit this day to offer us your acknowledgments; but this nation well knows that it is still largely your debtor. It owes to you the proud satisfaction that, amidst the constellation of illustrious warriors who have recently visited our country, we could present to them a leader of our own, to whom all common acclamation conceded the pre-eminence; and when the will of Heaven and the common destinies of our nature shall have swept away the present generation, you will have left your great name—an imperishable monument—exciting others to like deeds of glory; and serving at once to adorn, defend, and perpetuate the existence of this country among the ruling nations of the earth.”¹

¹ Ann. Reg.
1814, 139.
Parl. Deb.
xxviii. 491.

7.
Solemn
thanksgiving
in St Paul's
for peace.

Indescribable was the enthusiasm which these eloquent and impressive words excited in all who listened to them, and rapturous the applause which ensued when Lord Castlereagh moved that they should be entered on the journals of the House.* The Duke of Wellington replied in modest and suitable terms, in which, without pretending to

* The author was present on the occasion. The impression the scene produced will never be effaced.

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disclaim all merit himself, he ascribed the success which had been achieved mainly to the persevering support he had received from the government, and the fortitude and discipline of the troops under his command. A few days afterwards a solemn thanksgiving was returned in St Paul's by the Prince Regent and the royal family, accompanied by the whole ministers and privy council, the Houses of Lords and Commons, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and functionaries in London, and the principal persons of the British empire who were then assembled in London. The multitude were deeply impressed when the august procession, decked out with all the splendour of royalty, passed through the streets; and when the Duke of Wellington, with the sword presented to him by the State before him, sat down on the right hand of the Prince Regent in the cathedral, one burst of almost overpowering emotion thrilled through every one in its immense extent. But who can rely on the permanent affection of the ever-changing multitude? Could the eye of prophecy have pierced the depths of futurity, it would have beheld the hero of England, then "the observed of all observers," and almost sinking under "the electric shock of a nation's gratitude," reviled by the majority of his countrymen, execrated by the mob, and narrowly escaping death from their infuriated hands, in the vicinity of that very spot, on the anniversary of his great and crowning victory of Waterloo! Themistocles, the saviour of Athens, was obliged to seek refuge from his countrymen at the court of the Great King; Scipio, the conqueror of Carthage, died an exile on a foreign shore; his ungrateful country did not possess his bones.¹

July 6.

¹ Ann. Reg.
1814, 58, 59.
Chron.

An important discussion, alike interesting from the simple character of the people whose fate was at issue, and the principles in regard to the future settlement of Europe which it involved, took place in parliament on the subject of Norway. It has been already mentioned, that it was part of the secret engagements contracted by Alexander with Bernadotte, at Abo in 1812, that he should receive that kingdom in exchange for the Continental possessions of the Swedish crown which were ceded to Russia, and that by the subsequent treaty with Great Britain, not only had the consent of the cabinet of St

8.
Interference
of Great
Britain to
force the
annexation of
Norway to
Sweden.

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James's been obtained to this arrangement, but his Britannic Majesty engaged, if necessary, to assist in an active manner with his fleet to carry the treaty into effect.* The period had now arrived when Bernadotte claimed the performance of these stipulations, and when it became necessary for Great Britain to perform her engagements for the coercion of the Norwegians into obedience to this transfer. The court of Denmark had acceded to it, by the treaty which admitted them into the Grand Alliance,† as indeed it was impossible for them to do otherwise, after the overthrow of the external power of France by the battle of Leipsic and evacuation of Germany. But the Norwegians loudly protested against this forcible transfer of a free people to the rule of their hereditary enemies; and not only refused to admit the Swedish authorities, in obedience to the injunctions of the King of Denmark, but made preparations to resist any forcible occupation of their territory. They even despatched envoys to Great Britain to interest the English people in their cause. In consequence, a Swedish army assembled under the Crown Prince, on the frontier, and Great Britain despatched some vessels of war, to commence a blockade of the harbours of Norway. This proceeding excited the liveliest interest in Europe, both from the importance of the questions at issue to the parties, and the indication which it afforded of the intentions of the Allied powers in regard to other countries, which, in like manner, it might be deemed expedient to transfer from their ancient dominion to new sovereigns. It became the subject of warm debates in the British parliament; and the arguments there urged are the more worthy of attention, that they were brought forward in the only assembly in existence where the subject could with perfect freedom be discussed.¹

1 Ann. Reg.
1814, 118,
119.

9.
Argument on
the subject of
Norway by
the Opposi-
tion.

On the side of the Opposition, it was maintained by Earl Grey, Lord Grenville, and Mr Wynne—"British policy never sustained a deeper shock, nor British character a deeper stain, than in the conduct which has recently been pursued in regard to Norway. If indeed it were incumbent on this country, on a fair construction of the treaty with Sweden, to assist by the co-operation

* *Ante*, Chap. lxx. § 50; and Chap. lxxix. § 7.

† *Ib.* Chap. lxxxiv. § 43.

of force in the reduction of Norway, it might fairly be urged that the evil, how great soever, was beyond the reach of remedy, and that even oppression must be enforced, rather than breach of faith incurred. But are we bound by the treaty to employ force to compel the Norwegians to submit to a forcible junction with Sweden? Nothing can be clearer than that we are not. It is merely stipulated 'that we are to use our good offices to obtain the annexation, and even to employ force, if necessary.' But force was not to be employed, unless the King of Denmark refused to join the northern alliance. If, then, force had been already employed to compel that junction, we had done all that we engaged, and are liberated from any further obligations. Now, when were we called on to interpose force to compel this junction? When Denmark has joined the northern alliance—when her troops have marched in support of the common cause—and when she has not only ceded Norway, but has expressly fulfilled that condition, upon the refusal of which the employment of force was made to depend.

"We are clearly, therefore, not bound to co-operate by force, either by the letter or the spirit of the treaty; and if not, are we called upon to interpose by the nature of the transaction, or the merits of the hostility to which we have chosen to make ourselves a party? Here the argument is, if possible, still stronger. The King of Denmark had no right to transfer the people of Norway against their will. He might withdraw himself from their protection; he might absolve them from their allegiance to him; but he had no right to transfer that allegiance to another state; it became then the privilege of the people to determine to whom their allegiance should be transferred. Authority is not necessary to support a position so plain, so entirely in unison with the first principles of natural justice. If it were necessary to quote opinions of weight on such a point, our greatest international lawyers, Grotius, Puffendorf, and Vattel, are unanimous upon it. They state that a sovereign may, in case of necessity, withdraw his garrisons from their towns, but that this being done, it rests with the people themselves to select the state to which they will transfer

10.
Denmark had
no right to
transfer the
allegiance of
Norway.

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their allegiance. Provinces of an empire, indeed, such as Franche-Comté and Lorraine, have often been transferred without the consent of the inhabitants; but that does not apply to the cession of an integral independent state, such as Norway. And whenever such a stretch has been attempted, as in the subjugation of Corsica by France, or the transfer of Scotland by Baliol to Edward I., the iniquitous measure has met with the unanimous condemnation of subsequent times, and the heroes who strove to resist it have been the admiration of the historian, the theme of the poet, in every subsequent age. If a more recent example is required, look at Spain. Ferdinand VII. ceded his people to Napoleon by the treaty of Bayonne; but instead of acquiescing in the transfer, they strenuously resisted it, and for the last six years our whole efforts have been directed to aid them in withstanding a usurpation similar to that which we are now with as little justice about to force on the Norwegians.

11.
The conduct
of Sweden
had deserved
no such re-
compense.

“Have the services of Sweden in the common cause been so important, the fidelity of the Crown Prince to his engagements so conspicuous, as to call for such an act on the part of Great Britain? It is notorious that the very reverse is the case. Have Sir C. Stewart and Mr Thornton never stated in their despatches that Sweden was backward in aiding the common cause? Have her troops ever taken the part assigned to them in the combined operations? Even at the battle of Leipsic, Sir C. Stewart has loudly complained that Sweden hung back, and that the utmost efforts were necessary to bring her troops into action. Subsequently, instead of directing his troops to the theatre of war in Flanders, the Crown Prince employed them entirely against Denmark; and, during the campaign in France, his inactivity became so conspicuous, that the Hanseatic Legion, intended to have been under his direction, was transferred to that of General Bulow, and two entire corps of his army were at once withdrawn from his orders, and placed under the directions of Marshal Blucher. Is it then for such a lukewarm, suspicious ally that we are to incur the odium of concurring in the subjugation of a freeborn and gallant people?

“The policy of this co-operation is as mistaken as its

principle is unjust. Sweden is attached to France, because it may be aided, and cannot be injured by it: it is jealous of Russia, because it may be injured, and cannot be benefited by it. The Crown Prince will never lose his attachment to the land of his birth; in his case, national partiality, old recollections, will conspire with new interests and acquired desires to attach him to the French alliance. Rather than see Norway annexed to Sweden, it would be incomparably better to see it erected into an independent power. And as such a power, if independent, would necessarily be closely connected with this country, it would prove of essential service in furnishing materials for our navy from a quarter from whence the supplies are never likely to fail. But fail they unquestionably will if this annexation is persisted in; for on the first general war in Europe, Sweden will join with France, from inevitable and well-founded dread of the power of Russia.”¹

On the other hand, it was argued by Lord Castlereagh, Lord Harrowby, and Lord Liverpool—“This question is to be determined, not by the general considerations which have been brought forward with such glowing eloquence on the opposite side, but by the necessities of the case when the treaty with Sweden was concluded, and the plain meaning of that treaty itself. It was the anxious desire of this country, at the time when the co-operation of Sweden was essential to the interests of Europe, to obtain the assistance of that power against the common enemy; and to that end we engaged to put Sweden in possession of Norway, which being in the hands of a hostile state, rendered it impossible for the Swedish government to send forces to any considerable amount to the Continent until it was secured from attack on that vulnerable side. The Emperor of Russia, accordingly, by his treaty with Sweden, bound himself to secure to the latter power the crown of Norway; and Great Britain pledged itself by its treaty to the same effect, by using its good offices with Denmark, and if necessary by naval co-operation. It was certainly provided that we should not employ force without making an attempt to induce Denmark to join the general confederacy, and that power has done so. But unless there was something illegal in the original treaty,

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1814.

12.
Impolicy of
this step.¹ Parl. Deb.
xxviii. 768,
783.13.
Answer of the
Administra-
tion.

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1814.

14.
Legality of
the transfer,
and its conso-
nance with
ordinary
usage.

can it be maintained that we are bound to stop short at the nominal cession, and do nothing to put our ally in possession of the territory which we had expressly agreed he should possess?

“As to the justice of the treaty itself, that is a different question, which it is too late to discuss, as it has been concluded and acted upon, and formed part of the public convention of Europe. But even if that question were to be again opened up, nothing can be clearer than that the treaty with Sweden might be defended on the best principles of justice and expedience. Many weighty authorities indeed have laid it down, that a sovereign cannot, without the consent of the inhabitants, alienate his *whole* dominions: but they also state, what common sense sufficiently demonstrates, that a particular town or province may be validly ceded without such consent. By all the treaties which have terminated the great wars of Europe, large cessions of territory have been made; they were in fact the price of the pacification, and without them that blessing could not have been obtained. In particular, this was done by the treaties of Westphalia, of Utrecht, and of Amiens; and by all concluded by Napoleon, large provinces were ceded without any complaint being made by the gentlemen opposite. Sicily, Naples, Flanders, and almost all the smaller states of Italy, as much independent states as Norway, have at different times been thus transferred. Did not Lord Chatham boast that he would conquer Germany in America? a saying which, according to the doctrine now advanced, would be founded in gross injustice. If the consent of the people to their cession were requisite to the legal validity of their transfer, treaties would be nugatory; every attempt at pacification would only lead to a difficult and often ineffectual negotiation with the subjects of the territory proposed to be ceded; and wars would be interminable, from the impossibility of guaranteeing to the victorious party any advantage which might induce him to terminate his hostility. The obligation on the part of subjects to submit to such transfers is but a part of the general result of the social union by which the original liberty of each citizen is to a certain degree impaired for the public good.

"Whether or not the Crown Prince has in every instance exerted himself with the greatest vigour for the prosecution of hostilities against the common enemy, is not now the question. Suffice it to say, that his co-operation on the whole has been of the most essential service, and such as fully entitles him to his stipulated reward. Had he not, by his accession to the alliance, created a formidable diversion in the rear of the French army which penetrated into Russia, we might have been at this moment occupied, instead of discussing the *minutiae* of our engagements with Sweden, in anxiously deliberating on the means of averting invasion from our own shores. The policy of strengthening Sweden is equally clear: the great evil of modern Europe, which has hitherto led to such frequent wars of ambition by the greater powers, has been the number of lesser states with which they are surrounded, at once a field for their hostility and a prey to their cupidity. It is our wisdom, therefore, so to strengthen the second-rate powers as may render the balance more even, and prevent their dominions from becoming, as heretofore, the mere battle-field in which the greater powers find an arena for their contests and the prize of their hostility. The resistance of the Norwegians to this projected union with Sweden has been entirely fomented by the Danes, who, having secured their equivalent in Pomerania, are now striving also to retain Norway: it has been consequent on a journey of the heir-presumptive of the crown of Denmark, who went from Copenhagen to Norway, and was declared king of that country. The terms of the proposed union have hitherto been studiously concealed from the Norwegians; but when they come to be known, all opposition on their part will cease, as it has already done with a large portion of the most respectable and enlightened inhabitants."¹

Upon a division, Parliament supported ministers in the course they had adopted on this subject in both houses: the majority in the Peers being eighty-one, in the Commons, two days afterwards, no less than a hundred and fifty-eight. The resistance of the Norwegians, however, still continued; and it became necessary for the Swedish government to have recourse to actual hostilities to effect

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15.

Value of the
services of
Sweden, and
policy of the
measure.¹ Parl. Deb.
xxviii. 783,
807.

16.

Continued
resistance of
the Norwe-
gians.
Feb. 24.

CHAP.
XCII.

1814.

April 13.

Feb. 19.

Feb. 21.

¹ Ann. Reg.
1814, 40, 41.
Parl. Deb.
xxvii. 807,
864.

17.
Failure of all
attempts at a
negotiation.

the occupation of this much-coveted acquisition. A proclamation of the King of Sweden, containing an engagement to leave to the nation the power of establishing a constitution on the footing of national representation, to its inhabitants the right of taxing themselves, and not to consolidate the finances of the two countries, met with very little attention. As little respect was paid to a letter addressed to them by the King of Denmark two months afterwards, in which he counselled them to submit, disavowed the act of Prince Christian, who had gone to Norway, and been proclaimed king of that nation, and forbade all the officers in his service to remain in the country in its present state. Prince Christian, however, was not discouraged; he traversed the mountains between Sweden and Drontheim, and was every where met by crowds of peasants, shouting with enthusiastic ardour, "We will live or die for old Norway's freedom;" and when at the monument in the pass of Gutbrandsthal, famous for the destruction of a band of Swedish invaders, he read the inscription, "Wo to the Norwegian whose blood does not boil in his veins at the sight of this monument!" thousands of voices rent the sky with the exclamation, "Thou shalt not leave us!" Continuing his journey to Drontheim, he was unanimously saluted as Regent: the Danish flag was taken down to the sound of a funeral dirge; the Norwegian banner hoisted amidst shouts of acclamation. Norway was declared independent; peace was declared with Great Britain; a deputation appointed to wait on the British government to deprecate the proposed coercion; and Count Axel Rosen, the Swedish envoy, who came from the government of Stockholm, commissioned to receive execution of the treaty, was informed that, till the declaration of independence was communicated to the powers of Europe, no answer to his requisitions could be made.¹

The engagements of the Allied powers, however, towards Sweden, were too stringent to permit of any attention being paid even to these touching appeals of a gallant people struggling for their independence. Mr Anker, the Norwegian envoy to the court of London, was informed by Lord Liverpool of the situation and obligations of the British government, and desired to return to

Norway : but still the Norwegians were undismayed, and on the 19th April, the Diet, by a considerable majority, conferred the crown on Prince Christian and his male heirs. M. Morier was afterwards despatched by the British government to endeavour to effect a pacific settlement of the differences, and soon after the envoys from all the Allied powers arrived in Norway with a similar purpose, but all their efforts were fruitless ; they departed from Drontheim without having induced either Christian or the Diet to submit, and preparations on both sides were immediately made for war.¹

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XCII.

1814.

April 19.

July 10.

July 26.

Aug. 17.

¹ Ann. Reg.

1814, 43, 44.

Mém. de

Charles Jean,

ii. 156, 161.

It belongs to the northern historians to relate in detail the circumstances of the brief but interesting campaign which followed. Suffice it to say, that the Norwegian flotilla was defeated near the Hualorn islands, with hardly any loss to the Swedish squadron ; and that, Bernadotte having put himself at the head of the invading army, twenty thousand strong, the frontier was immediately crossed. The Swedish General Gahn was, in the first instance, worsted in an attempt to force the mountain passes, yet Frederiksstadt was captured two days after. The strong position of Isebro was soon after forced, with considerable loss to the Norwegians ; General Vegesack overthrew a body of six thousand gallant mountaineers ; Sleswick was abandoned, and taken possession of by the invaders ; the passage of the Glommen was won ; preparations were made for the bombardment of Friedrichstein, before which Charles XII. lost his life ; the ridge of the Kgolberg was carried after a brave resistance ; and measures were taken for surrounding, with a very superior force, the army of Prince Christian, posted near Moss. Further resistance would now have been hopeless ; the match was evidently unequal ; and therefore Prince Christian made proposals to the Crown Prince, which were accepted. By this convention the Danish prince resigned all pretensions to the Crown of Norway ; and, on the other hand, the Crown Prince accepted the constitution for Norway which had been fixed by the Diet of Esbold, and engaged to govern it with no other changes than were necessary to the union of the two kingdoms. After some local disturbances, and great heartburnings among the peasantry, this convention was submitted to ; the Diet at Christiana, by

18.

Conquest of

Norway by

Sweden.

July 26.

Aug. 2.

Aug. 4.

Aug. 10.

Aug. 11.

Aug. 12.

Aug. 14.

CHAP.
XCII.1814.
Oct. 5.1 Ann. Reg.
1814, 41, 48.
Mém. de
Charles Jean
ii. 183, 197.
Bulletin of
Bernadotte,
Aug. 6, 1814.
Ibid.

a majority of seventy-four to five, agreed to accept their new king, and consent to the union of the two kingdoms. The terms arranged were in the highest degree favourable to the Norwegians, who preserved the substance though not the form of independence, and a degree of popular power which would be inconsistent with good government in a less primitive state of society. Bernadotte has since ruled them with leniency and judgment; and though many old patriots still mourn over the loss of their political independence, Norway has had no real reason, from its subsequent government, to regret its union with the Swedish monarchy.¹

19.
Reflections
on this sub-
ject.

Although the military events of this miniature contest are of little importance, yet the moral and political questions which it involves are of the highest interest, and by much the most material which arose for the consideration of the statesmen of Europe upon the overthrow of the French Empire. By that great event, dominions which had been incorporated with it under the sceptre of Napoleon, containing thirteen millions of souls, besides states embracing a still greater number, forming part of his Allied dependencies, had been in great part bereft of their former government, and lay at the disposal of the Allied powers. It became, therefore, a matter at once of the highest importance, and of no small difficulty, to provide properly for the political distribution of the conquered or rescued states. For, on the one hand, the general interests of Europe imperatively required that the old arrangements should not in every instance be specifically resumed, as experience had demonstrated that if they were so, the weakness of the intermediate states rendered them an immediate prey to the ambition of the greater. On the other, the attachment of the people to their old sovereigns and form of government was often strong, always respectable; and it ill became the champions of European independence to terminate their work of deliverance by an act of injustice which might be paralleled to any to terminate which they had taken up arms.

In these difficult circumstances, where state necessity and insurmountable expedience pointed to one course, and a sense of justice and regard to the rights of man

appeared to demand another, it is not surprising that the decision of the Allied powers should have been the subject of impassioned declamation or sincere regret, and that the annexation of Norway to Sweden, of great part of Saxony to Prussia, of the Grand-duchy of Warsaw to Russia, the Milanese to Austria, and Genoa to the kingdom of Piedmont, should have been represented as acts of violence and spoliation, equal to any which had stained the arms of Napoleon. Without pretending to vindicate all those measures, and fully admitting the principle, that the end will not justify the means, there is yet this important fact to be observed, which draws a broad and clear line of distinction between all these acts of incorporation, and those which were so loudly complained of under the government of the French Emperor. All these states, which were disposed of, some against their will, by the Congress of Vienna, were at the close of hostilities *at war* with the Allied powers: they were part of the French empire, or of its allied dependencies; and if they were allotted to some of the conquering powers, they underwent no more than the stern rule of war, the sad lot of the vanquished from the beginning of the world. What was complained of in Napoleon's usurpations, was not the provinces which he wrested from his enemies at the close of war, but the crowns which he tore from the brows of his allies during peace. The contest, moreover, on the termination of which they were partitioned, was one of the grossest aggression on their part: their forces had all formed part of the vast crusade, at the head of which Napoleon had crossed the Niemen, and carried the sword and the fire-brand into the heart of Russia; and if they in the end found the scales of fortune turned against them, and lamented their forcible transference to the rule of another, they underwent no other fate than the just law of retribution. They experienced no more than they had inflicted on the Austrians, the Prussians, and the Dutch; than they had attempted to inflict on the Spaniards and the Russians.

Another subject in the highest degree interesting, both to the domestic historian of Great Britain and the general annalist of Europe, which underwent a thorough discussion, and was placed on a new footing at this period, was the English CORN LAWS.

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XCII.

1814.

20.

And the true
ground on
which it is to
be rested.

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1814.

21
Historical
sketch of the
Corn Laws.

During the greater part of the eighteenth century, England had been to a certain, though not a large, extent an exporting country; and so great was the influence of the landowners in the legislature, that they had obtained the grant of a bounty of five shillings a quarter on the exportation of wheat to foreign states. By the statute 1 William and Mary, c. 12, passed in the year 1688, exportation was permitted when wheat shall be at or under 48s. the quarter, and a bounty of 5s. a quarter was allowed. The bounty was repeatedly suspended during the next century when grain was high, and a great variety of temporary statutes were passed to alleviate passing distress; but this bounty continued to be the general law of the country till 1765, when, by the 3 Geo. III. c. 31, it was entirely abolished, and all import duties were repealed. This continued the law till 1791, when, by the 31 Geo. III., c. 30, the old bounty of 5s. was revived when wheat shall be under 44s. the quarter; when above 46s., exportation was prohibited. On imported wheat, if prices were under 50s., a duty of 24s. 3d. was imposed: from 50s. to 54s., the duty fell to 2s. 6d.; and above 54s., the duty was only 6d. This scale was to a certain degree modified by the 44 Geo. III., c. 109, passed in 1804, by which act export was allowed when wheat was at and under 48s., with a bounty of 5s.: above 54s. there was no export: import, if prices were under 63s., was allowed only on payment of a duty of 24s. 3d.; from 63s. to 66s., at a duty of 2s. 6d.; above 66s., at a duty of 6d. The object of these, and an immense number of intermediate temporary or partial acts, was to prevent that grievous evil to which society is subjected in the great fluctuation of the prices of grain, and secure, as far as human foresight could, the advantage of a plentiful supply and steady prices in the article of human subsistence.¹

¹ Parl. Deb.
xxvii. 670,
682.

Under the operation of these statutes, Great Britain long continued an exporting country. From 1697 to 1766, a period of nearly seventy years, the annual amount of exports of corn was, with the exception only of six years, much greater than that of imports, and this excess had, in the middle of the eighteenth century, sometimes reached

as much as nine hundred thousand quarters.* From 1766, however, the balance turned the other way, and the amount imported generally, though not always, exceeded that exported; until, during the dreadful scarcity of 1800 and 1801, and the scarcely less severe season of 1810, the quantity imported had ranged from one million two hundred thousand to one million five hundred thousand quarters.† This was a most important change, and that in prices was hardly less so; for on an average of ten years for the last hundred and fifty years, the price of wheat had doubled, and, as compared with the middle of last century, had more than tripled.‡ These facts naturally

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22.

Progress of
exportation
and importa-
tion during
the last hun-
dred years.

* Quarters of wheat exported and imported from England :—

	Quarters Exported.	Quarters Imported.	Price of wheat per Quarter.
1748 .	545,387	385	£1 12 10
1749 .	629,049	382	1 12 10½
1750 .	947,602	279	1 8 10
1751 .	661,416	3	1 14 2
1752 .	429,279	0	1 17 2½

—*Parl. Debates*, xxvii. 682.

	Wheat Quarters exported.	Quarters imported.	Price of Wheat.
† 1800 .	22,013	1,264,520	£6 7 0
1801 .	28,406	1,424,766	6 8 6
1802 .	149,304	647,664	3 7 2
1803 .	76,580	373,725	3 0 2
1804 .	63,073	461,140	3 9 6
1805 .	77,959	920,834	4 8 0
1806 .	29,566	310,342	4 3 0
1807 .	24,365	400,759	3 18 0
1808 .	77,567	81,466	3 19 2
1809 .	31,278	448,487	5 6 0
1810 .	75,785	1,530,691	5 12 0
1811 .	97,765	292,038	5 8 0
1812 .	46,324	129,866	6 8 0
1813 .	Records destroyed by fire.		6 0 0

—*Parl. Deb.* xxvii. 682, 683.

‡ Average price of wheat during ten years :—

	s.	d.
Ending 1655,	51	7½
— 1665,	50	5¼
— 1675,	40	11¼
— 1685,	41	4½
— 1695,	39	6¼
— 1705,	42	11
— 1715,	44	2½
— 1725,	35	4½
— 1735,	35	2
— 1745,	32	1
— 1755,	33	2½
— 1765,	39	3½
— 1775,	51	3½
— 1785,	47	8½
— 1795,	54	3¼
— 1805,	81	2½
Eight years to 1813,	101	9½

—*Report of Committee on Corn Laws*, 1814; *Parl. Deb.* xxvii. 687.

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1814.

awakened the anxious solicitude of the legislature and the country at the close of the war, when the restoration of a general peace exposed the British farmer anew to the competition of the foreign producer, and the vast change of prices consequent on the suspension of cash payments in 1797, and the subsequent boundless expenditure of the war, had rendered him so much less qualified to bear it.

23.
Pressing reasons for a protection to native agriculture.

Agriculture had immensely advanced under the combined influence of foreign exclusion and domestic encouragement in the later years of the contest. Capital to the amount of several hundred millions sterling had been invested in land, and was now producing a remunerating return; the home cultivators, notwithstanding an increase of nearly fifty per cent in the number of the people during the last twenty-five years, had kept pace both with the wants of the people, and the rapidly augmenting luxury of the age; the importation of grain for the three preceding years had been a perfect trifle. It had thus become a very grave question, whether these advantages should now be thrown away, and the nation, after having by a painful process of foreign warfare been raised to a state of independence of foreign supplies, should at its close, by the inundation of Continental grain, consequent on the expenses and high prices which that very war had occasioned, be reduced to a state of dependence on external powers for the most necessary articles of subsistence.

24.
Mr Huskisson's and the government's arguments in favour of the Corn Laws.

On the one hand, it was argued by Mr Huskisson, Mr Vansittart, and Mr Frankland Lewis—"The two grand objects which the House has to obtain by the proposed measures, are to render the nation independent of foreign supply, and to keep the price of corn as nearly equal as possible. Under the system begun in 1765, which has now been in operation for nearly fifty years, the country has been gradually becoming more and more dependent on foreign countries for a supply of grain, and prices have been kept in a continual state of fluctuation. All this has happened in consequence of deviating from a system which, for nearly sixty years previously, had rendered the country nearly independent of foreign supply, and during which period the fluctuation of prices had never exceeded one-third. Instead of which, during the last forty years, large importations had taken place, and the

fluctuations have risen as high as three to one, instead of one to three. What must be the state of the law which produced these evils, if they have been produced by law, of which there can be no doubt? and is not some remedy necessary?

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“It is impossible that temporary fluctuation can raise the price of labour in proportion to the rise in the price of grain; and as the agricultural labourers constitute the largest class, and their earnings approach nearest to what is necessary for mere existence, any temporary rise in the price of grain is more severely felt by them than by any others, and this evil has exhibited itself in augmented poor-rates and many other forms. The fluctuation of prices is an evil as much to be guarded against as too high a price: a total prohibition of exportation, it is true, may raise the price; but a medium may be found which will at once keep the price steady, and not unduly elevate it. Notwithstanding all that has been said about the importance of importation of grain, it is well known that in no year has it reached higher than a tenth or twelfth of the annual consumption. If no foreign corn had been imported, the nation would have saved in the last twenty years sixty millions sterling; nor can it be said, that without this importation sixty millions’ worth of our manufactures would have remained unsold; for what would those sixty millions have effected if they had been invested in land? What improvements would they have effected in our agriculture—what increased means of purchasing our manufactures would they have given to our cultivators! When the law permitting the importation of corn was first passed, there was a violent outcry against it; but what had been its effect? Why, that Ireland had come to supply England with corn, for which she had received several millions which had been employed in improving her soil, which, but for that law, would have gone to Holland or some other country. The importations from Ireland now amount to three millions annually, with a probability of a still greater increase. Are we prepared to throw away that benefit to our own subjects?

25.
Great fluctuation of prices in consequence of the existing state of the law.

“Circumstances over which we have no control have of late years given an extraordinary impulse to British

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26.
Probable
effects of
increased im-
portation.

agriculture, and rendered us again independent of foreign nations. Having paid the price of our independence, would it be wise now to permit the domestic culture of the country to be destroyed, and render us again dependent on foreign nations? Such an advantage would be readily seized on by any power, and used to the annoyance, it might be the subjugation, of any country which should subject itself to such an evil. If the law is left in its present form, agriculture will speedily recede; the low price of corn produced by foreign importation will at once diminish the supply of corn, and throw out of employment a vast multitude of agricultural labourers; and thence will arise a double evil at once to the landowners, the farmers, and the nation—a loss of capital to a prodigious extent will ensue; rents will be immediately lowered; the best market for our manufactures, the home market, will be essentially injured. The true wisdom of the legislature will be to impose a fluctuating scale of duties, which shall, when prices are high, let in importation from all the world, and, gradually rising as prices fall, shall, when they reach a certain point of depression, operate as a prohibition against it. Assuming 63s. the quarter, then, as the turning point at which the prohibitory duty of 24s. 3d. should operate, the true principle appears to be to adopt a sliding scale, which shall add a shilling to the duty for every shilling that wheat falls, and take off a shilling for every shilling that it rises; so that at 86s. there should be no duty at all: and, at the same time, to lower these duties to one-half on grain imported from our own colonies.”¹

¹ Parl. Deb.
xxvii. 722,
726.

27.

Argument on
the other side
by Mr Rose
and its oppo-
nents.

On the other hand, it was contended by Mr Rose and Mr Canning—“Taking it for granted that no one entertains the slightest idea of introducing an entirely free importation, the great point is, at what price is importation to be restrained, and exportation permitted? The last average price of wheat at Dantzic is 36s., and the charges thence to the port of London are 26s., which in the war had risen as high as 82s. The supply of wheat in times of scarcity is now almost entirely from Poland, and the prices there are chiefly determined by those in this country. Now, if there be no restraint in the way of export, corn may be sent out of the country to such an

extent as to be altogether beyond the reach of the artisans and labourers. It is mere legislation in favour of a particular class in society, to make the regulating price for the duties on the importation of corn a very high one, while at the same time free and unrestrained exportation is permitted. What in such a case becomes of the consumer? The middle and labouring classes have for many years endured, with exemplary patience, such a rise in the price of the necessaries of life as has exposed them to the severest privations. What then can be more unjust than now, when they may with confidence look forward, from the return of peace, to a fall of prices, to perpetuate their distresses by such forced measures of legislation as shall permanently retain prices at the war level? The interests of the grower and consumer, when properly understood, are by no means incompatible; but the question is whether, in the measures recommended by the committee, and now pressed upon the House, the only point considered has not been the interest of the grower.

“The poor-rates must be inevitably and seriously augmented if the present high rate of prices continue, and will not that abstract a large portion of the profits which they will bring to agriculture? This was sorely felt in 1800 and 1801, during which years this burden was in many places doubled. The revenue will be materially affected by the virtual prohibition in ordinary years of all imports of grain, and the consequent cessation of the whole duties obtained on its introduction. We are told the farmer requires protection, and would be ruined by foreign competition. How do the facts tally with this assertion? From 1801 to 1811 the population of England alone has increased one million four hundred and forty-eight thousand; that of the whole British islands probably two millions five hundred thousand: in that period the average excess of importation over exportation has increased by five hundred and eighty-six thousand quarters; not a fifth part of the wants of the increased population, at a quarter a head; and even that includes two years of the severest scarcity ever known. This clearly demonstrates that the remainder has been obtained by the additional produce of our own cultivation, and in fact the

28.
Security of
the farmer
against
foreign com-
petition.

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advances made in that branch of industry of late years have been immense, as every part of the country demonstrates. If, then, agriculture is already so flourishing, why seek to prop it up at the expense of the other classes by artificial legislative enactments?

29.
Alleged one-
sidedness of
the supposed
enactment.

"To one class of society the committee and their supporters in this House hold out an expectation, that by increased cultivation bread will become cheap; to another, that by raising the prices of importation, and lessening those of exportation, corn will become dearer. These propositions cannot both be true; and there appears every reason to believe that the benefit to the landowner and farmer will be incomparably less than the detriment to the consumers. The former have hitherto in one way or other been indemnified for their burdens; but the latter have not; and it will be the height of injustice to pass a law which shall render the price of grain permanently twice as high as it was before the war began. Delay in a question of such importance, and so vital in its consequences to the country, is loudly called for; and during the prorogation of parliament information may be collected, which will probably be the means of adjusting it more in conformity with the interests of all classes in the nation." ¹ *

Parl. Deb.
xxvii. 666,
706.

30.
Progress of
the bill,
which is at
length
carried.

The arguments of Mr Huskisson and Sir Henry Parnell proved entirely successful in the House of Commons, by whom the resolutions proposed by Sir Henry Parnell as the chairman of the committee, with the modification contended for by Mr Huskisson, were carried without a division; and the sliding scale, commencing with a duty of 24s. at 63s. the quarter, and declining 1s. with every shilling the price advanced, was agreed to. But the reception of these resolutions by the country was very different. Great alarm arose in the large towns and manufacturing districts, that their interests were about to be sacrificed to those of the landed proprietors; petitions for delay and

* It is impossible in such a question as the corn laws, where details and figures constitute the foundation of the subject, to give any idea, in an abstract of a few pages, of the arguments on either side. This debate, with the report of the committee on which it is founded, will be found to contain more ample information, both on the statute law, regarding the corn laws, and the influence they had on prices for one hundred and fifty years before 1814, than any other documents in existence.—See *Parl. Debates*, xxvii. 670, 690.

farther inquiry flowed in from all quarters ; Mr Canning presented one from Liverpool, signed by twenty-two thousand names ; and such was the effect of these remonstrances, that after the subject had been repeatedly before the House, it was finally carried by General Gascoigne, by a majority of ten, that the bill should be taken into consideration that day six months ; in other words, it was lost. The bill was, however, brought forward again in the next session of parliament, when it was made the subject of most able debates in the two Houses of parliament ; but at length it was carried by large majorities in both Houses, that in the Commons being one hundred and sixty-four, in the Peers one hundred and twenty-four.¹

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June 6.

¹ Parl. Deb.
xxx. 123, 149.

“High prices and plenty,” says Adam Smith, “are prosperity : low prices and scarcity are misery.” In this profound saying is to be found the true principle which, in every old and opulent community, of necessity renders unavoidable a corn law and heavy duties upon the importation of foreign grain, except during periods of actual scarcity. It is in their very riches, the multitude of their cash transactions, in the weight of their taxes, the magnitude of their debt, the immensity of their currency,—the bequest of previous ages of credit, of long-established civilisation,—that the reason for this necessity is to be found. The prices of labour, of cultivation, of the implements of husbandry, of horses, of seed-corn, are necessarily higher in the old established community than in the comparatively infant state, for the same reason that prices are higher in the metropolis than in the remote provinces of the same empire, or in the metropolis itself during the season of gaiety or fashion, than in the other times of the year. This reason being permanent, and founded in the nature of things, is of universal application.

31.
Reflections
on this sub-
ject.

Nor do the manufacturing classes suffer by such regulations as in ordinary seasons confine the supply of the home market to domestic cultivators : for their effect is to augment the riches, and increase the means of purchasing manufactured articles, in the hands of the best consumers of domestic fabrics. It would be a poor com-

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32.

Great benefit
which pro-
tection to
home agri-
culture af-
fords to home
manufac-
tures.

pensation to the British manufacturer, if a free importation of grain ruined the cultivator of Kent or East Lothian, who consumed at an average five pounds' worth of British manufactures, to remind him that by so doing you had called into existence the serf of Poland or the Ukraine, who did not consume to the amount of fivepence. The best trade which any nation can carry on, as Adam Smith remarked, is that between the town and the country; and subsequent experience has amply demonstrated the truth of the observation.* No nation can pretend to independence, which rests for any sensible portion of its subsistence in ordinary seasons on foreign, who may become hostile, nations. And if we would see a memorable example of the manner in which the greatest and most powerful nation may, in the course of ages, come to be paralysed by this cause, we have only to cast our eyes on imperial Rome, when the vast extent of the empire had practically established a free trade in grain with the whole civilised world. The result was, that cultivation disappeared from the Italian plains, where from the presence of long-established opulence it had become so expensive; and, its fields being devoted to pasturage, grain was mainly obtained by importation from Egypt and Libya. The race of Roman agriculturists, the strength of the empire, became extinct; the culture of the fields was carried on only by slaves and cattle. The legions could no longer be recruited save from foreign bands; vast tracts of pasturage overspread even the plains of Lombardy and the Campagna of Naples, and it was the plaintive confession of the Roman annalist,¹ that the mistress of the

¹ Tacit.
Annal. xii.
43. Gibbon,
vi. 235.

* Table showing the exports of manufactures from Great Britain and Ireland in 1836, with the population, and proportions per head consumed of them in the under-mentioned countries, viz. :—

	Population in 1836.	Consumption in 1836.	Proportion per Head.
Russia, .	60,000,000	£1,742,433	£0 0 8½
Prussia, .	14,000,000	160,472	0 0 3¼
France, .	32,000,000	1,591,381	0 0 11½
Sweden, .	3,000,000	113,308	0 0 9
British North American colon. }	1,500,000	2,739,291	1 11 6
British W. Indies, .	900,000	3,786,453	3 17 6
British Australia, .	100,000	1,180,000	11 15 0
Great Britain and Ireland, }	26,000,000	133,000,000	4 17 9

—PORTER'S *Parl. Tables*, 1836, vi. 102.

world had come to depend for her subsistence on the floods of the Nile.*

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While England was occupied with this momentous subject, forced on its immediate attention by the return of pacific relations with the Continent of Europe, France was painfully emerging from the crisis which had terminated in the overthrow of Napoleon. No task that ever fell to the lot of man to perform, was probably more difficult than that which now devolved on the French monarch; for he had at once to restrain passion without power, to satisfy rapacity without funds, and to satiate ambition without glory. During the dreadful struggle which had immediately preceded the fall of the empire, the evils experienced had been so overwhelming, that they had produced a general oblivion of lesser grievances, and a universal desire for instant deliverance. But now that the terrible conqueror was struck down, and the parties whose coalition had effected his overthrow were called on to remodel the government, to share the power, to nominate the administration, irreconcilable differences appeared among them. Mutual jealousies, as rancorous as those which had rent asunder the empire at its fall, already severed the monarchy in the first days of its restoration; and opposite pretensions, as conflicting as those which brought about the Revolution, tore the government even from its cradle. The seeds of the disunion which paralysed the restoration were beginning to spring even before Louis XVIII. had ascended the throne; and his subsequent reign, till the Hundred Days, was but an amplification of the causes which produced the return of Napoleon.¹

33.
Extraordi-
nary difficul-
ties which be-
set Louis
XVIII. in
France.

¹ Cap. Cent
Jours, i. 42,
44. Thib. x.
117, 119.

The republicans in the senate, the veterans of the Revolution, the hoary regicides decorated with the titles of the empire, had joined with Talleyrand and the Royalists to dethrone Napoleon, solely on the promise that their wishes should be attended to in the formation of the new constitution, and that they should individually obtain a large share in the appointments and influence of the monarchy. The most extravagant expect-

34.
Commence-
ment of divi-
sions in the
councils of
Louis XVIII.

* At Hercule olim ex Italia legionibus longinquas in provincias commeatus portabantur, nec nunc infecunditate laboratur; sed Libyam potius et Egyptum exercemus, navibusque et casibus vita populi Romani permissa est.—TACITUS, *Annal.* xii. 43.

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¹ Cap. i. 43,
49. Thib. x.
117, 118.

35.
Views of the
King, and
formation of
the Constitu-
tion.

June 4.

tations had in consequence been formed as to the extent to which popular power was to revive with the Restoration: the constitution of 1791 was openly talked of as the basis of the restored monarchy: it was declared that the king would only be recalled on condition that he implicitly subscribed the constitution chalked out by the senate. The Emperor Alexander publicly supported these principles, and used his influence to procure from Louis XVIII. even before he left London, a declaration in their favour; while M. Blacas, who was the most confidential adviser of the king, warmly espoused the opposite side, and counselled the monarch to disregard altogether the restraints sought to be imposed on the royal prerogative. The Count d'Artois, when he arrived at Paris, embraced the same views. These divisions soon transpired, parties were formed, leaders took their sides; and to such a length did the dissensions arise, that it required all the influence of Talleyrand and Fouché, who had now come up to the scene of intrigue, to procure the proclamation of Louis XVIII. by the senate before its conditions had been formally agreed to.¹

The ideas of the French King, however, matured by long misfortune and reflection, were completely formed. He was determined to steer a middle course between the Royalists and the Republicans; and hoped, without submitting to such conditions as might alienate the former, to acquiesce in all the reasonable demands of the latter. With these views, he resolved to make no terms with his subjects, but simply mount the throne of his ancestors, and, when there, grant of his own free will such a constitution to his subjects as might satisfy even the warmest friends of civil liberty. A commission was accordingly formed, consisting of nine members of the legislative body, nine of the senate, and four commissioners appointed by the king, to frame a constitution. Their labours were not of long duration; they continued only from the 22d to the 27th May; at the close of which time the celebrated CHARTER was produced, which was solemnly promulgated with great pomp, to both the senate and legislative body, on the 4th June, in the Bourbon palace. The king there read a speech which he had composed himself; he addressed the peers and

deputies as the representatives of the nation, and announced that he had prepared a charter which would be read to the meeting. He concluded with these words:—"A painful recollection mingles with my joy at thus finding myself for the first time in the midst of the representatives of a nation which has given me such numerous proofs of its affection. I was born, I hoped to remain all my life, the most faithful subject of the best of kings—and now I occupy his place. But he yet breathes in that noble testament which he intended for the instruction of the august and unhappy infant to whom it has been my lot to succeed. It is with my eyes fixed on that immortal work—it is penetrated with the sentiments which dictated it—it is guided by the experience, and seconded by the counsels of many among you, that I have drawn up the constitutional charter which shall now be read."¹

¹ Moniteur, June 5, 1814. Thib. x. 101, 102. Cap. Hist. de la Rest. ii. 34, 35.

These words were received with loud applause from all sides: but a feeling of surprise, a murmur of dissatisfaction, ran through the assembly, when M. d'Ambray, the chancellor, declared, that "the king, taught by twenty-five years of misfortune, had brought his people an ordinance of reformation, by which he extinguishes all parties, as he maintains all rights. *In full possession of his hereditary rights* over this noble kingdom, the king has no wish save to exercise the authority which he has received from God and his fathers, by himself placing limits to his power. He has no wish but to be the supreme chief of the great family of which he is the father. It is he himself who is about to give to the French a constitutional charter, suited at once to their desires and their wants, and to the respective situation of men and things." It concluded with the words, "Given at Paris in the year of grace 1814, in the nineteenth year of our reign." The veterans of the Revolution, at these expressions, recollected the words of Mirabeau, when Louis XVI. in 1789, announced his concessions to the States-General. "The concessions made by the king would be sufficient for the public good, if the *presents* of despotism were not always dangerous."¹

36. Injudicious expressions used by the king's ministers in the legislative body.

¹ Ante, c. iv. § 68. Cap. ii. 34, 35.

The concessions in favour of freedom contained in the charter, though ushered in by these injudicious and

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37.
Leading arti-
cles of the
Charter.

ominous expressions, were such as might have satisfied, in the outset of the revolutionary troubles, the warmest friend of real freedom. The great foundations of civil liberty—liberty of conscience and worship, freedom of the press, equality in the eye of the law, the right of being taxed only by the national representatives, the division of the legislature into two chambers, and trial by jury,—were established. The Chamber of Peers owed its existence to the charter; it came in place of the Senate of Napoleon, the adulations and tergiversations of which latter body had so degraded it in public estimation, that its existence could no longer be maintained. This Upper House, the members of which were all nominated by the King, consisted of six ecclesiastical peers, twenty of the old noblesse, twelve of the dignitaries of the Revolution, ninety-one of the Senate of Napoleon, and six generals of the ancient regime. A considerable number of the Senate were by this selection excluded, consisting chiefly of the most dangerous democratic characters. The powers of the legislative body were greatly enlarged by the charter—in fact, it was rendered the depository of nearly the whole public authority; and the constitution was received in consequence by that assembly with sentiments of the most lively gratitude. Yet were there two circumstances connected with the chamber of representatives worthy of notice, and singularly characteristic of the scanty elements for the construction of a really free government which now existed in France. The first was, that an annual pension was secured to every member of it, of the same amount as they had enjoyed under Napoleon; the second, that no person could be elected a deputy unless he paid 1000 francs (£40) of direct taxes annually to government, and that the right of election was limited to persons paying 300 francs (£12) of direct taxes yearly. This restriction threw the nomination entirely into the hands of the more opulent class of society, and confined it to less than eighty thousand persons out of above thirty millions.¹

¹ Charter in Moniteur, June 5, 1814: and Ordinance of Laws, June 4, 1814.

Abstractedly considered, however, the charter contained, in many points, the elements of true freedom. All public burdens were to be borne equally by all classes in proportion to their fortune: all were declared

equally admissible to all civil and military employment: prosecution or imprisonment was forbidden except in the cases provided for by the law, and according to its forms: universal liberty of conscience and worship was secured; though the Roman Catholic ministers were alone to be entitled to support from the state. Publication of thoughts was permitted, provided the laws were attended to which guarded against the abuses of the press: a universal amnesty for the past was proclaimed: the conscription abolished: the person of the king declared sacred and inviolable—his ministers alone responsible for his actions. The king was alone invested with the power of proposing laws: he commanded the forces by sea and land, declared war and made peace, concluded all treaties and conventions, nominated to all public employments, civil and military, and “was intrusted with the right of making all the regulations *and ordinances* necessary for the execution of the laws *and the safety of the state.*”^{*} Laws, in general, might be introduced by authority of the king, either in the first chamber of peers or in that of deputies; but the consent of both was essential to their validity, and those relating to taxes could only be proposed, in the first instance, in the lower house. The Chambers were entitled to petition the king to propose a particular statute, and indicate what they desired should be its tenor; but this could only be done after it had been discussed and carried in secret committee. If carried there, and in the chamber itself, it was then, after the lapse of ten days, to be sent to the other chamber; and if agreed to by it also, the petition was then submitted to the king, who might grant or reject it; but, if rejected, it could not again be brought forward during that session. The king alone was intrusted with sanctioning and promulgating the laws, and the civil list was to be fixed for the whole of each reign during the first session held under it. The cognisance of cases of high treason was confined to the Chamber of Peers; that of ordinary offences, to the courts of law, with the assistance of juries: all judges were to be named by the king, and hold their

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38.

Its provisions
in favour of
public free-
dom.

Art. 14.

* An ambiguous and perilous power, the exercise of which, in after times, was made the pretext for chasing the elder branch of the House of Bourbon from the throne, and in its ultimate effects restored the government of the sword.

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¹ Charter in
Moniteur,
June 5, 1814.

office for life, except the *juges de la paix*, who were subject to removal; and justice, except where privacy was requisite from a regard to public decency, was to be administered with open doors. The Code Napoleon was continued as the ordinary law of France; the ancient noblesse resumed their titles; the new noblesse preserved theirs; the king was declared the sole fountain of honours in future; the legion of honour was kept up; the deputies were elected for five years, but every year a fifth retired, and re-elections to that extent took place.

39.
Its obvious
defects.

Every one must admit that these changes contained the elements of a wise system of government, and were calculated, so far as they went, to combine the blessings of freedom and equal rights, with those of protection to life and property, and stable administration. But what are laws without the support of public morality? and what are the most anxious provisions for the liberty of the subject if the spirit is wanting, in the governors and the governed, by which it is maintained? Amidst all the numerous and anxious provisions for freedom which the charter contained, four circumstances were remarkable, which, to the sagacious observer, augured ill both as to the degree of protection to civil liberty which in the progress of time the new constitution might afford, or even the extent to which it was understood in the country, and the stability which the charter might attain amidst the receding waves of the Revolution. 1. No provision was inserted to prevent or restrain arbitrary imprisonment, or limit the period during which a person arrested might be detained before trial. 2. No attempt was made to limit or abolish the oppression of the police; a set of civil functionaries who impose such excessive and unnecessary restraints on human action, in all the Continental states, that it may safely be affirmed real freedom is inconsistent with their existence. 3. The upper house, instead of being composed of great proprietors, hereditary in their functions, respectable from their fortunes, illustrious from their descent, was made up for the most part of salaried officials, nominated by the crown, who enjoyed their seats, though their titles were hereditary, only during life. 4. No provision was made, more than in Revolutionary times, for the establishment of the church or

public instruction on an adequate basis ; but the teachers in both were left to languish, as public functionaries, in the obscurity and indigence bequeathed to them by the perfidy and rapacity of the Revolution. No blame, it is true, could be attached to the French sovereign or his ministers for these defects ; they could not by possibility have been supplied ; but that only demonstrates that the crimes of the Revolution had rendered impossible the construction of durable liberty in France.

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It was comparatively an easy task, however, to frame a constitution which might balance, in form at least, the conflicting powers of the Revolution ; the real difficulty was, to reconcile the conflicting interests, calm the furious passions, allay the dread of punishment, and provide for the destitute multitudes which its termination had left in France. Restoration is always a work of difficulty. Henry IV. had perished under it ; James II. fled before it ; but in France the difficulties were now of such overwhelming magnitude, that it is not surprising that the feeble dynasty of the Bourbons ere long sunk beneath them. The only thing to be wondered at is, that they were able at all to keep possession of the throne. The public joy at the Restoration had been as sincere as it was general : it arose from the sense of deliverance from instant and impending evils which had become insupportable. But when these evils had passed away ; when the Allied armies no longer oppressed the country ; when the conscription had ceased to tear the tender youth from their weeping mothers, and France was left alone with its monarch, its losses, and its humiliation, the bitterness of the change sank into the soul of the nation. Whole classes, and those too the most powerful and important, were in secret alarm or sullen discontent. The holders of national domains—an immense body, amounting to several millions—were devoured with anxiety. It was to no purpose that the government had guaranteed the possession of their estates ; they were a prey to a secret disquietude, because it was not participant in the iniquity by which they had been acquired ; they felt the same uneasiness at the restoration of lawful government, that the reseters of stolen property do at the approach of the officers of justice.¹ The Bourbons who had suffered

40.

Real difficulties of the Restoration.

¹ Cap. Cent Jours, i. 50, 52. Thib. x. 107.

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injury might forgive; the Revolutionists who had inflicted it, never could.

Forgiveness to the injured does belong,
But they ne'er pardon who have done the wrong.

41.
Terrors of the
regicides and
army.

The regicides, and numerous able and powerful men who had been involved in the actual crimes of the Revolution, felt still greater apprehensions: the unqualified amnesty contained in the charter was far from removing their disquietude; conscience told them that they deserved punishment. The fact of the Restoration seemed an act of accusation against them, a condemnation of all they had done since the commencement of the convulsion; and they incessantly demanded fresh guarantees and additional securities.* The army was in despair. Defeated in the field, driven back into France, humiliated in the sight of Europe, they had now the additional mortification of being in great part disbanded, and universally condemned to inactivity. The wandering life of camps, the excitement of the battle-field, the joys of the bivouac, the terrors of the breach, the contributions from provinces, the plunder of cities, were at an end; and instead, they found themselves dispersed over the provincial towns of France, or sent back to their homes, a prey to ennui, and destitute of either interest or hope in life. The titled generals, the civil and military *employés* who had been fastened by the imperial government on the provinces beyond the Alps and the Rhine, now wrested from France, returned in shoals to the capital, bereft of their employments, cast down from their authority, in great part deprived of subsistence. The marshals and numerous dignitaries of the Emperor who had obtained estates or revenues in Germany, France, and Italy, as appendages to their titles,¹ found themselves deprived of half their income by the loss of these posses-

¹ Cap. i. 52,
^{54.}
Thib. x. 117,
118.

* So true are the words of Corneille,

“ Un grand crime est de cette nature,
Que toujours son auteur impute à l'offensé
Un vif ressentiment dont il se croit blessé ;
Et quoiqu'en apparence on les reconcilie,
Il le craint, il le haït, et jamais ne s'y fie,
Et toujours alarmé de cette illusion
Si tôt qu'il peut la perdre il prend l'occasion.”

Rodogune, Act i. S. 7.

sions, and destitute of all hope of improving their fortunes by fresh conquests.

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If these were the sad realities of disaster in war to the most influential and formidable classes of society, the difficulties of government were still greater; and the most profound sagacity, the most fruitful invention, could hardly discover a mode either of appeasing the public discontents, or of satisfying the innumerable demands upon the public treasury. The Count d'Artois, in his progress towards Paris, had taken as his watchword, "Plus de droits réunis (excise,) plus de conscriptions;" and the latter promise had formed an express article in the charter. But how was the first to be realised without depriving the crown of a large, and what had now become an indispensable, part of the public revenue? or the latter without reducing by at least two-thirds the ranks of the army, and throwing twenty thousand officers, without pay or occupation, back in fearful discontent to their hearths? The Tuileries were besieged from morning to night by clamorous crowds, composed of men as far divided in principle as the poles are asunder, but uniting in one loud and importunate cry for employment or relief from the government. One-half were Royalists, demanding compensation for the losses they had sustained during the Revolution, or a return for the fidelity with which they had adhered to the cause of the exiled monarch, or aided his return: the other, dignitaries or persons in employment under the imperial regime, who had been deprived of all by the overthrow of Napoleon, or the contraction of the French empire to the limits of the ancient monarchy. The wants of the troops were still more pressing, and they were of a kind which could not be resisted. Eight months' pay was due when the Restoration took place, to the officers and soldiers of the army; ten months'

42.
Penury and
embarrass-
ments of
government.

* The "droits réunis," or excise, had constituted in latter times a considerable part of the ordinary revenue of Napoleon. They had amounted, in

	Francs.	£
1811, . . .	127,734,000	or 5,100,000
1812, . . .	144,069,398	or 5,650,000
1813, . . .	146,660,621	or 5,745,000

And taking the proportion of Old France to the provinces ceded, the abolition of this impost would occasion a loss of 100,000,000 francs, or £4,000,000 annually.—See DUC DE GAËTA, i. 308, 309.

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1 Cap. i. 32,
62. Duc de
Gaeta, ii.
16, 26. Thib.
x. 167, 168.
Finance Re-
port, 1814.
Moniteur,
Sept. 23,
1814. Moni-
teur, Sept.
24.

43.
System of
government
which the
Bourbons
pursued.

arrears to the commissaries and civil administrators. To meet these accumulated embarrassments, Louis XVIII. had an exhausted treasury, a diminished territory, and a bankrupt people. So excessive had been the taxation, so enormous the requisitions in kind, during the two last years of Napoleon's reign, that the provinces which had been the seat of war were almost wholly unable to bear any taxation; and such was the general exhaustion of the country, that the arrears of the last two years had reached the enormous amount of 1,308,000,000 francs, (£52,320,000,) of which only 759,000,000 francs (£30,400,000) were deemed recoverable. And while the most rigid economy, and extensive reductions on the part of the government, could do no more than bring down the expenditure to 827,415,000 francs, or £33,096,600, the receipts only reached 520,000,000 or £20,800,000; and even this sum was obtained with the greatest difficulty, and by adding above a third to the direct taxes.¹

It would have required the genius of Sully, united to the firmness of Pitt, to have made head with such means against such difficulties; and the capacity of the King and his ministers was far indeed from being equal to the task. Striving to please both parties, they gained the confidence of neither: aiming at a middle course, they incurred its dangers without attaining its security. They left the crown, in the midst of pressing perils, without either moral or physical support. The celebrated saying of Napoleon, "Ils n'ont rien appris, ils n'ont rien oubliés," conveyed an accurate idea of the cause to which their errors were owing. They had not power or vigour enough to undertake a decided part, and yet sufficient confidence in their legitimate title to venture on a hazardous one. Their system was to retain all the imperial functionaries, civil and military, in their employment: to displace no one, from the prefect to the humblest court officer: to continue to the military their rank, their titles, and, so far as it was possible, their emoluments: to make no change in the nation, in short, except by the substitution of a king for an emperor, and the introduction of a few leading Royalists into the cabinet. By this conduct, which, so far as it went, was well conceived, they hoped to gain the powers of the Revolution by

injuring none of its interests. But they forgot that mankind are governed by desires, passions, and prejudices, as well as interests and selfishness; and that Napoleon had so long succeeded in governing the empire only because, while he sedulously attended in deeds to the interests of the Revolution, he carefully in words and forms flattered its principles. The latter part of his policy was entirely forgotten by the Bourbons, and in nothing more than in their treatment of the army. Their capital error consisted in this, that while they wholly depended on the physical forces of the Revolution, they made no attempt to disguise their aversion to its tenets; and that, without endeavouring to establish any adequate counterpoise to its powers, they irrecoverably alienated its supporters.¹

¹ Cap. i. 58.
64. Thib. x.
127, 130.

They abolished the national colours, the object of even superstitious veneration to the whole French soldiers, and substituted in their room the white flag of the monarchy, with which hardly any of the army had any association, and the honours of which, great as they were, had been entirely thrown into the shade by the transcendent glories of the empire. They altered the numbers of the whole regiments, as well infantry as cavalry, destroying thus the heart-stirring recollections connected with the many fields of fame in which they had signalled themselves, and reducing those which had fought at Rivoli or Austerlitz to a level with a newly raised levy. The tricolor standards were ordered to be given up; many regiments in preference burned them, in order that they might at least preserve their ashes. The eagles were generally secreted by the officers; the men hid the tricolor cockades in their knapsacks. They altered the whole designations of the superior officers, resuming those of the old monarchy, now wholly forgotten. Thus generals of brigade were denominated marshals of the camp; generals of division assumed the title of lieutenant-generals. Catholic and Protestant soldiers were alike compelled to go to mass, to confess, to take the communion. The Imperial Guard, which in the first instance was intrusted with the service of the Tuileries, was speedily removed, and its place supplied by troops obtained from Switzerland and La Vendée. That noble corps was even

44.
Their great errors, especially in regard to the army.

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removed from Paris, under pretence of avoiding quarrels with the foreign troops in occupation of the capital; the whole officers on half-pay were directed to return to their homes, there to await their ulterior destination; and the most severe orders were issued to the troops who had returned from foreign garrisons, to prevent any allusion even to the name of the Emperor. Six companies of *gardes du corps*, several red companies of guards, or military household—in fine, the whole military splendour of Louis XV. was revived; and these new troops, in their yet unsullied uniform, supplanted alike the old troops and the National Guard in the service of the palace. These things were submitted to in silence, but they sank deep into the heart of the army and the nation.¹

¹ Thib. x.
128, 133.
Cap. i. 59,
64.

45.
Errors of
their civil
administra-
tion.
July 14.

The civil regulations of the new government, though not so important in themselves as those which related to the military administration, were not less material in their ultimate effects; for they exposed the court to the most fatal of all attacks in Parisian society—the assaults of ridicule. An ordinance of the police forbade ordinary work to proceed on Sunday: this regulation, though expressly enjoined by religion, and loudly called for by the interests of the working classes, became the object of unmeasured obloquy, because it abridged the pleasures or the gains of an unbelieving and selfish generation. The restoration of all the services of the Roman Catholic Church, with extraordinary pomp in the Tuileries, excited the ridicule, and awakened the fears of a revolutionary people, by a great majority of whom these rites were regarded as the remnants only of a worn out and expiring superstition. The ladies of the ancient regime indulged in cutting sarcasms against those of the new noblesse; not one of the marshals' wives, or duchesses of the empire, was placed in the Royal household; and female animosity added its bitter venom to the many other causes of jealousy against the court. The restoration of the ancient orders, and especially of that of St Louis, the crosses of which were distributed with profusion, gave rise to so general a rumour of an intention to supersede or undermine the Legion of Honour, that the King, by an express ordinance, was obliged to clear himself from the imputation. In fine,

July 19.

the civil government of the Restoration, while in all essential particulars favourable to the interests of the Revolution, yet in language, form, and ceremony, had restored the most antiquated and obnoxious traditions of the monarchy; and the French had discernment enough to see that, in the intoxication of success, words and forms betrayed the real thoughts, and that acts favourable to revolutionary interests were forced on the government only by state necessity.¹

The army was reduced, partly from the embarrassment of the finances, partly from the policy of government, to a degree inconsistent with either the safety of the country or the attachment of the troops themselves. The abolition of the conscription, so loudly called for by its ruinous effects, at once revealed the exhaustion of the physical strength of the monarchy. Reduced successively to a hundred and forty thousand, and eighty thousand men, it was still encumbered with officers, and, except from La Vendée, the recruits came in with extreme tardiness; above a hundred thousand leaves of absence had been given; and the soldiers, when once they had reached their homes, were in no hurry to return. The dynasty of the Restoration was to the last degree unpopular among the troops; the throne had, literally speaking, no armed force on which it could depend, except a few regiments of Guards and Swiss at Paris. The general discontent of the army was greatly augmented by an ordinance which put every officer not in actual employment on half-pay, a reduction hitherto unknown in the French army; and still more by another, which absolutely forbade any officer of whatever rank, not in actual service, to reside at Paris, if not already domiciled there. These were the circumstances which induced the fall of Louis XVIII., and occasioned the incalculable evils to France of the Hundred Days; the consequences of the civil errors were remote, and of comparatively little importance. It was the alienation of the affections of the military, before any other force to supply their place had been organised, and when the throne had no moral support in the nation, which was the fatal mistake.² And, in fact, such was the discontent of the troops arising from their disasters, that it is more

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¹ Thib. x.
135, 140.
Cap. i. 62,
65. Montg.
viii. 60, 68.

46.
Injudicious
regulations
regarding the
army.

² Thib. x.
140, 149.
Cap. i. 61,
62.

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XCII.

1814.

47.
Character of
the ministers
of the Resto-
ration.

than doubtful whether any human wisdom could have averted the catastrophe.

Notwithstanding these obvious and flagrant errors, the cabinet of Louis XVIII. was far from being destitute of men of ability. M. Blacas, the real premier and principal confidant of the king, had an ingenious mind and an upright heart. But his information was limited: he judged of France as he had seen it through the deceitful vision of the emigrants, and was entirely ignorant of the vast, the irremediable changes, both in the opinion of the influential classes, and the distribution of political and physical power, which had taken place during the Revolution. M. d'Ambray, the chancellor, an old lawyer of eminence in Normandy, and M. Ferrand, a monarchical theorist, caused considerable damage to the Restoration, by the long declamations in favour of now antiquated and jealously received doctrines regarding the authority of legitimate monarchs, with which they prefaced all the royal decrees. The Abbé Montesquieu was inclined to the liberal side; he had embraced the principles of the Constituent Assembly, and shared a large portion of the confidence of the king. Guizot, then little known, had already conceived those doctrines of mingled conservatism and philosophy, to which his genius has subsequently given immortality; the Abbé de Pradt, at the head of the Legion of Honour, and M. de Bourrienne, as postmaster-general, had each brought talents of no ordinary kind to the direction of their several departments. But the ability of the whole cabinet could not stem the difficulties with which they were surrounded; and if they had been gifted with far greater practical sagacity and acquaintance with men than they actually possessed, they would have been shattered by the unpopularity of General Dupont as minister-at-war; an appointment the most unfortunate that could have been made, for it continually reminded the army of the disaster of Baylen—the first and most humiliating of its closing reverses. To such a pitch, indeed, did the public discontent on this head arise, that the court were subsequently obliged to remove that ill-fated general, and substitute Marshal Soult in his room;¹ but the army was by this time in such a state of

Dec. 5.

¹ Cap. i. 66,
67. Thib. x.
146, 150.
Montg. viii.
86, 94.

ill-humour, that even his great abilities proved wholly unable to give it a right direction; and his strong leaning to the exiled Emperor subsequently proved in no slight degree instrumental in bringing about his return.

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1814.

As the restoration of Napoleon was entirely a military movement, and the discontents of the people, founded or unfounded, had scarcely any share in bringing it about, the briefest summary will suffice of the domestic events in France which preceded the Hundred Days. Such was the exasperation of the popular party and the Imperialists at the Bourbons, that by mutual consent they laid aside their whole previous animosities, and combined all their efforts to decry every measure of the government, and misrepresent every step, judicious or injudicious, which they took. A clamour was raised against every thing.

48.
General
cause of com-
plaint
alleged
against the
government.

The celebration of a solemn and most touching funeral service in Notre Dame, soon after the return of the royal family, to the memory of Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette, and the Princess Elizabeth,* was set down as the commencement of persecution against the leaders of the Revolution.

May 14.

The exhumation of the remains of several Vendéan and Chouan leaders, to re-inter them in consecrated ground, was looked on as a proof of the most deplorable superstition; and the erection, under the auspices of Marshal Soult, after he had been made minister-at-war, of a monumental edifice

Oct. 16.

in Quiberon Bay, to the memory of those who had fallen victims there to loyal fidelity and revolutionary perfidy, as an indication of a desire to revert to the principles of the Chouans and Vendéans. A solemn ceremony, with which, on the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI., his remains

and those of Marie Antoinette were removed from their place of sepulture in the garden of Descloseaux, in the Rue Anjou, was regarded as a decided attack on the whole principles of the Revolution.† Few remains of the royal

Jan. 1, 1815.

martyrs were to be found; what could be collected, had owed their identification and preservation from insult to the pious care of M. Descloseaux, the proprietor of the garden where they were laid,¹ who worthily received the

¹ Hist. Parl.
xl. 28, 37.
Thib. x. 150,
174.

* It was one of the most imposing spectacles ever witnessed, being attended by all the monarchs, generals, and ministers then in Paris—including the whole marshals of France: the interior of the cathedral was all hung with black, and lighted with a profusion of lamps.—*Personal Observation.*

† *Ante*, Chap. viii. § 98.

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order of St Michael and a pension, as the reward of his fidelity. The bones and ashes were carefully enclosed in lead coffins, and translated with extraordinary pomp to the royal mausoleum at St Denis.

49.
Extraordi-
nary financial
difficulties.

The miseries and insolvency entailed on the nation by the ruinous wars of Napoleon,* formed a necessary part of the financial exposé of the ministers, and constituted the best vindication of the great reductions in all departments which had become unavoidable. This was immediately set down as a direct and scandalous attack on the glory of the empire. The unalienated national domains were, by a just proposition which passed both Chambers, restored to their rightful owners. This act of partial restitution, joined to a proposition of marshal Macdonald in the Chamber of Peers, to provide an indemnity to the victims of the Revolution,† which he called a debt of honour, and to the military men who had been mutilated in the service of their country, which he denominated a debt of blood, though based on the equitable principle of doing even-handed justice to both parties, excited the most general apprehensions. It is unnecessary to go further. Every act of the government of the Restoration—some wise and natural, others injudicious or ill-timed—was misinterpreted, and ascribed to the worst possible motives; and the great party and numerous interests of the Revolution, conscious of their sins, trembled, like Felix in holy writ, when the government spoke of a future world, or alluded even to a judgment to come.¹

While the French government were thus striving, amidst the chaos of revolutionary passions, to close the

* See Ante, Chap. lxxxiv. § 37.

† For the indemnity of the victims of the Revolution, he submitted the following calculations to the Chamber of Peers:—

	Francs.	Sterling.
Value of national property (sold,) .	4,000,000,000	or £160,000,000
Moveable effects (confiscated,) .	900,000,000	.. 36,000,000
	<u>4,900,000,000</u>	<u>196,000,000</u>
Deduct inscribed on the public funds, . 300,000,000		
National domains (unsold,) . 300,000,000		
	<u>600,000,000</u>	<u>24,000,000</u>
Remained to be provided for,	4,300,000,000	£172,000,000

—See THIBAudeau, x. 199; and BUCHEZ and ROUX, xl. 29, 30.

¹ Thib. x.
150, 203.
Hist. Parl
xl. 29, 38.

wounds and mitigate the sufferings of the Revolution, negotiations of the most important character for the general settlement of Europe had commenced, and were already considerably advanced, at Vienna. It had been originally intended that the Congress of Vienna should have commenced its sittings on the 29th July; but the visit of the Allied sovereigns to England, and their subsequent return to their own capitals, necessarily caused it to be adjourned; and it was not till the end of September that the august assemblage commenced, by the entry of the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia into the Austrian capital. They were immediately followed by the Kings of Bavaria, Denmark, and Würtemberg, and a host of lesser princes; while Lord Castlereagh, and subsequently the Duke of Wellington, on the part of England, and M. Talleyrand on that of France, more efficiently than any crowned heads could have done, upheld the dignity and maintained the interests of their respective monarchies. But although the sovereigns and ministers in appearance kept up the most amicable and confidential relations, it was easy to see that their interests and views were widely at variance; and that the removal of common danger and the division of common spoil had produced their usual effect, of sowing dissension among the victors.¹

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1814.

50.

Commence-
ment of the
Congress of
Vienna.

Sept. 25.

1 Hist. Parl.
xl. 41. Cap.
i. 70, 73.
Hard. xii.
452, 453.

A preliminary question of precedence first arose as to the rank of the different states assembled, and their representatives; but this was at once terminated by the happy expedient of Alexander, that they should be arranged and should sign in the alphabetical order of their respective states. But a more serious difficulty soon after occurred as to the states which should in their own right as principals take part in the deliberations; and it was, in the outset, suggested by the ministers of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Great Britain, that they should in the first instance come to an agreement as to the disposal of the territories wrested from France and its allies, before they entered into conferences with France and Spain. This proposal was naturally resisted by Talleyrand and the Spanish plenipotentiary; and it was their earnest endeavour in an energetic note to show, that the treaty of Chaumont,

51.

Preliminary
questions
which were
discussed.

Sept. 22.

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XCII.

1814.

Oct. 5.

though formally to endure for twenty years, had in reality expired with the attainment of all its objects, and that France at least should be admitted into the deliberations. Lord Castlereagh, who early perceived the necessity of a counterpoise to the preponderating influence of Russia in the conferences, supported this note of M. Talleyrand's ; and Prince Metternich, who was actuated by similar views, did the same. In consequence, it was agreed that the committee to whom the questions coming before the Congress should be submitted, should be the ministers not only of the four Allied powers, but of France, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden. The Cardinal Gonsalvi, on the part of the court of Rome, was afterwards received, through the personal intercession of the Prince Regent of England ; while the plenipotentiaries of Murat king of Naples, the Kings of Sicily, of Bavaria, the Low Countries, Saxony, and Denmark, besides the ministers of the Swiss and Genoese republics, though not admitted to the conferences of the greater powers, were in attendance at Vienna, and had their interests attended to by such of their more powerful neighbours as were disposed to support them.¹

¹ Hard. xii.
454, 456.
Cap. i. 75,
77. Hist.
Parl. xl. 41.

52.
Points on
which the
great powers
were united.

This preliminary difficulty, as always occurs in such cases, furnished a key to the course which the different powers were likely to take in the approaching negotiation ; but a considerable time elapsed before the real divisions appeared. Much was done, in the first instance, without any difference of opinion taking place. Territories, inhabited by thirty-one million six hundred and ninety-one thousand persons, were at the disposal of the Allied powers, and there was for each enough and to spare. It was at once agreed, in conformity with the secret articles of the treaty of Paris, that Belgium, united to Holland, should form one kingdom under the title of the Netherlands ; that Norway should be annexed to Sweden ; that Hanover, with a considerable accession of territory, taken from the kingdom of Westphalia, should be restored to the King of England ; that Lombardy should again be placed under the rule of Austria, and Savoy under that of Piedmont. So far all was easily arranged ; but the questions how Poland, Saxony, and Genoa were to be disposed of, were not so easily adjusted.

The first of them gave rise to dissensions so serious, that they not only completely broke up, for the time, the Grand Alliance which had effected the deliverance of Europe, but, had it not been for the unexpected, and in that view most opportune, return of Napoleon from Elba, they would in all probability have led to the flames of war again breaking out, and to the old Allied forces being conducted to mutual slaughter.¹

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¹ Hard. xii.
455, 457.
Cap. i. 78,
79.

Alexander loudly insisted that the whole Grand-duchy of Warsaw should be ceded to Russia as an indemnity for the sacrifices she had made, and the losses she had sustained during the war. He represented, that were he to return to St Petersburg without having obtained some adequate compensation for the sacrifices the nation had undergone, it would be as much as his crown was worth; that Poland was already *de facto* occupied by the Russian troops, and the Poles expected a revival of their nationality solely from a union with the Russian empire, or their separate establishment under a prince of the Russian imperial family; and that, considering the immense losses which Russia had sustained during the war, and the vast exertions she had made, it was in the highest degree reasonable that she should now obtain a territory essential to her security, and extending along no inconsiderable part of her frontier. These arguments, in themselves by no means destitute of weight, were powerfully supported by the significant hint that he had three hundred thousand men ready to march at a moment's notice; that his troops already occupied the whole of Poland; and that, by representing the Russian alliance as the only means of restoring their lost nationality, the whole war-like force of the Sarmatians would soon be ranged on his side.²

53.

Alexander demands the whole of Poland as a separate monarchy, of which he was to be the head.

² Note of
Russia,
Dec. 18,
1814. Cap.
i. 87. Hard.
xi. 456, 458.

Prussia, entirely under the influence of Russia, as well from gratitude as situation, entered warmly into these pretensions, and supported them with all her influence at the Congress. She had her own views, independent of the immense debt of gratitude which she owed to that great power for deliverance from the thraldom of Napoleon, in this adhesion. It had been stipulated in the treaty of Kalisch, which formed the basis of the Grand Alliance, that Prussia was to be "reinstated, at the close of hostilities, in

54.

Views of
Prussia on
Saxony.

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XCII.

1814.

¹ Ante, c.
lxxiv. § 30.Oct. 22, and
Dec. 2.² Note, Oct.
22, and Dec.
16, 1814.
Schoell,
Trait. de
Paix, xi. 45,
49. Hard.
xii. 458, 463.
Cap. i. 81, 84.55.
Views of
England,
France,
and Austria
on the pro-
posals.

all respects, statistical, financial, and geographical, as it had stood at the commencement of the war of 1806, with such additions as might be deemed practicable.”¹ The Prussians now demanded fulfilment of this promise; and claimed, besides various provinces on the left bank of the Rhine which were at the disposal of the Allies by the dissolution of the French empire, the whole of Saxony. Prince Hardenberg, the able minister of the court of Berlin, supported this demand in an elaborate note; and insisted that, as Russia claimed a considerable part of Prussian Poland to round her proposed acquisitions on the Vistula, it was indispensably necessary that Prussia should be largely indemnified in Germany: that the interests of Europe imperatively required that a powerful intermediate state should be placed between Russia and France; and that the recent dangers which had been escaped, clearly pointed to the side on which the necessary additions should be made to her territory. On condition, then, of obtaining Saxony and an indemnity on the Rhine, Prussia proposed to cede to Russia the southern provinces of Poland; and, to appease the jealousy of the German powers at this aggrandisement of Russia, suggested that the fortifications of Thorn and Dantzic should be demolished. In conclusion, he strongly contended that, as so reconstructed, Prussia, with a population of nine million eight hundred thousand souls, would not be strengthened in the same degree as Russia would be by the acquisition of the Grand-duchy of Warsaw, and Austria by Lombardy and the Milanese.²

The views of France, Austria, and England were decidedly opposed to these sweeping annexations of territory to the northern powers. Independent of the obvious peril to the security of the other European states, if Russia were augmented by the greater part of Poland, and brought down by means of her outwork Prussia to the Elbe and the Rhine, which was sufficient to range the courts of Paris and Vienna on his side, Lord Castlereagh in an especial manner, and with the most energetic ability, opposed the union of the crowns of Poland and Russia on the same head, or the annexation of Saxony to Prussia, as contrary to the great

principles of justice on which the war against Napoleon had been maintained.* The conduct of the British minister on this occasion was worthy of the cause for which he had contended, and the nation which he represented; and he met with cordial support from both M. Talleyrand and Prince Metternich, who beheld with undisguised apprehension these proposed additions to the power of their nearest neighbours. The former of these statesmen, in particular, resisted the annexation of Saxony to Prussia, as a measure of severity to a fallen monarch alike inexpedient and unjust. Alexander expected the resistance of Austria and England to his designs, and no serious alienation ensued in consequence between him and their ministers; but he was quite unprepared for the vigorous stand made by France on the occasion. He openly charged Louis XVIII. with black ingratitude, and his displeasure was manifested without disguise to M. Talleyrand. At the same time he contracted close relations with Eugene Beauharnais, who was at Vienna at the time; warmly espoused the cause of Murat, in opposition to the Bourbon family, in the contest for the throne of Naples; and spoke of the unfitness of the elder branch of the Bourbons for the throne, and the probability of a revolution similar to that of 1688, which might put the sceptre into the hands of the house of Orleans.¹

¹ Cap. i. 78, 88. Hard. xii. 461, 468. Schoell, Trait. de Paix, xi. 50, 56.

To such a height, ere long, did the divisions arise, that they were soon not confined to mere indications of ill-humour at the Congress. Both parties prepared for war. Alexander halted his whole armies in Poland on their return to Russia, where they were kept together, and retained in every respect on the war footing. Hardenberg declared, that "as to Prussia, it would not abandon Saxony; that it had conquered it, and would keep it, without either the intention or the inclination of restoration;" and the cabinet of Berlin, to support the declara-

56. Military preparations on both sides.

Jan. 18.

* Lord Castlereagh declared in repeated memorials, "that he opposed firmly, and with all the force in his power, in the name of England, the erection of a kingdom in Poland, the crown of which should be placed on the same head with, or which should form an integral part of the empire of Russia: that the wish of his government was to see an independent power more or less extensive established there, under a distinct dynasty, and as an intermediate state between the three great monarchies."—*Memorial*, 16th December, 1814; See CAPEFIGUE, *Cent Jours*, i. 86.

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tion, armed its whole contingents, as if war were on the point of breaking out. At the same time the Grand Duke Constantine, who commanded the whole Russian armies, two hundred and eighty thousand strong, in Lithuania and Poland, published an animated address, in which he announced the intention of the Emperor his brother to restore to the Poles their lost nationality, and called on them to rally round his standards, as the only means of effecting it.* On the other side, the three powers were not idle : Austria put her armies in Galicia on the war footing : France was invited to suspend the disarming, which the ruined state of her finances had rendered so necessary ; British troops in great numbers were sent over to Belgium ; the absent forces in America, rendered disposable by the prospect of peace with that country, were destined on their return to the same quarter ; and in the midst of a Congress assembled for the general pacification of the world, a million of armed men were retained round their banners ready for mutual slaughter.^{1†}

¹ Hard. xii.
467, 468.
Cap. i. 91, 97.

57.
Secret treaty
between
Austria,
France, and
England.

Feb. 3.

Matters were at length brought to a crisis, by the conclusion of a secret treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between Austria, France, and England, at Vienna, on Feb. 3, 1815. By this treaty it was stipulated that the contracting parties should act in concert, and in a disinterested manner, to carry into effect the stipulations of the treaty of Paris. It set out with the preamble, that the “high contracting parties, convinced that the powers whom it behoved to carry into effect this treaty, should be maintained in a state of perfect security and independence, to enable them worthily to discharge that impor-

* “The Emperor, your powerful protector, invokes your aid. Rally around his standards: let your arms be raised for the defence of your country and your political existence.”—CONSTANTINE’S *Proclamation*, 11th Dec. 1814 ; CAPE-FIGUE, i. 86.

	Men.
† Viz. Russia,	280,000
Prussia,	173,000
Austria,	220,000
Anglo-Belgian,	80,000
Piedmont,	60,000
Lesser German powers,	100,000
France,	100,000
Total,	1,013,000

tant duty, consider it in consequence as necessary, with reference to the pretensions recently manifested, to provide against every aggression to which their own possessions, or any of them, might be exposed, from a feeling of resentment at the propositions which they have felt it their duty to submit, and to sustain by a common agreement the principles of justice and equity which they had advanced in carrying out the provisions of the treaty of Paris." On this narrative, the three contracting powers agreed mutually to support each other if one was attacked; and, in order to do so with effect, to maintain severally a hundred and fifty thousand men, of whom thirty thousand should be cavalry. In the event of war breaking out, the views of the Allies were to be strictly regulated by the terms of the treaty of Paris, so far as the extent and frontiers of their several possessions were concerned, and a commander-in-chief was to be appointed. The plan of the proposed operations was traced out by Generals Radjewski and Langeron on the part of Austria, Marshal Wrede on that of Bavaria, and General Ricard on that of France; and they were intended to meet the case supposed, that the Russian armies would invade Moravia and move upon Vienna. The Kings of Hanover, Bavaria, and Piedmont, were invited to accede to this treaty, which they immediately did; so that, in effect, by it the whole forces of Western and Southern Europe were arrayed against Russia and Prussia.¹

¹ See the articles in Cap. i. 94, 96; and Hard. xii. 468, 470.

What pains soever the principal powers concerned may have taken to prevent this treaty from coming to the knowledge of the other sovereigns at the Congress, it to a certain extent transpired, and produced a considerable modification in the views of the northern powers. Fortified by this support, Metternich took a bolder tone, and in reply to the menacing note of Hardenberg, transmitted an answer, in which, after representing that the safety of Austria, already compromised in Poland by the increase of Russia, would be destroyed by the incorporation of Saxony with Prussia, he explained in what sense the secret articles of the treaties of Kalisch and Reichenbach, so far as they related to the aggrandisement of the latter power, were to be understood, and contended that they would be amply carried into effect by

58.
Effect of this treaty on the negotiations.

Feb. 4.

CHAP.
XCII.1815.
Feb. 6.

Feb. 8.

¹ Hard. xii.
469, 470.
Cap. i. 177,
178. Schoell,
Cong. de
Vienne, vi.
121, 124.

the cession to Prussia of a portion of Saxony on the right bank of the Elbe, containing eight hundred thousand souls. The reply to that note clearly showed that the northern powers had taken the alarm; for Hardenberg, in the name of Prussia, agreed to relinquish the possession of Thorn, and the district of Tarnapol adjoining it. Several other notes were interchanged; Russia abandoned several districts of Poland; Prussia agreed to be satisfied with a part of Saxony. It was evident that the high pretensions of these powers had undergone an abatement: but nothing had definitely been fixed on, when an event occurred which resounded like a thunder-bolt from one end of Europe to the other, extinguished all these jealousies, and instantly drew the bonds of the old Grand Alliance as close together as they had been in the days of Leipsic and Paris.¹

59.
Formation of
the German
Confederacy.

One of the most important matters which came under the consideration of the Congress of Vienna, though not so difficult of adjustment, was the reconstruction of the Germanic confederacy. The old Empire and younger Confederation of the Rhine having been both swept away by the changes of time, it became necessary to create some new bond of union, which should at once provide for the security, and furnish a shield to the rights of the lesser Germanic states, and prevent that catastrophe which had uniformly occurred in former wars, of the French crossing the Rhine, and finding their battle-field and the sinews of war in the territories of the lesser states of Germany, before the jealousies or foresight of the greater powers would permit them to arm for their relief. The mutual jealousies of Prussia and Austria, rendered this no easy matter; but the judgment and tact of Metternich proved adequate to the task. He proposed the union of the whole Germanic states into a great confederacy, bound to afford mutual support in case of external attack, and to be directed by a diet, in which Austria and Prussia were each to have two voices, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Hanover, each one; but with the power to these greater states of making separate war and peace for themselves. The legislative power was to be vested in an assembly composed as well of the representatives of the larger states, as of those of the lesser ones

and free towns; but the powers of this assembly had regard only to matters of internal and pacific arrangement, and did not extend to the declaration on their own authority of peace and war. As this constitution subjected the whole of Germany to the political direction of a diet, in which Austria and Prussia had four votes out of seven, it practically gave those states, if they drew together, the entire government of the confederacy, so far as external relations went: but such was the influence of the greater powers, and such the sense which was still entertained of the necessity of a strong barrier against the aggressions of France, that Talleyrand was unable to stir up any resistance to it, and it was agreed to without opposition.¹

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XCII.
1815

¹ Hard. xii.
473, 475.
Schoell, xi.
257, 277, and
Cong. de
Vienne, vi.
147, 213.

Austria having renounced all claim to the Low Countries, which had been found by experience to be rather a burden than an advantage to the monarchy, little difficulty was experienced in arranging the affairs, and establishing the kingdom, of the Netherlands. It had been one of the secret articles of the treaty of Paris,² that the Netherlands and Holland should be united into one kingdom, under a prince of the house of Nassau; and this stipulation was now carried into effect by the reunion of the whole old seventeen provinces into a monarchy, under the title of the kingdom of the Netherlands.* The great fortress of Luxembourg, with its adjacent territory, was only excluded, and, from its military importance, was declared to form part of the German confederation, of which it was one of the frontier bulwarks; but the king of the Netherlands acquired it also as Duke of Luxembourg. By patent, dated 16th March 1815, the King of Holland took the title of King of the Netherlands and Grand Duke of Luxembourg, which title was immediately recognised by all the courts of Europe.³

60.
Formation of
the kingdom
of the
Netherlands.
² Ante, c.
lxxxix. § 47.

March 16.
³ Schoell, xi.
116, 117.

Holland ceded to Great Britain by this arrangement the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and

* It had been proposed by Elizabeth, in conjunction with Henry IV., to reform the seventeen provinces of Flanders into one state, to form a barrier at once against France and Austria. Mr Pitt was the next statesman who embraced the project. He is a bold man who gainsays what in such remote periods was concurred in equally by Henry IV. and Sully, Elizabeth and Burleigh, Metternich and Wellington. Mr Pitt thought they should be given to Prussia.—Vide Ante, Ap. A, Chap. xxxix. But all concurred in the opinion, that the interests and balance of power in Europe required that they should be kept together.

CHAP.
XCII.

1815.

61.

Treaty between England and the kingdom of the Netherlands.

Berbice ; but in return Great Britain restored to the King of the Netherlands the noble island of Java—a colony worth all the other islands in the eastern archipelago put together, and which, under British management, since its capture in 1810, had become so flourishing, that it promised soon to yield a larger surplus revenue than the whole of our Indian possessions put together. The uncalled-for restitution of this splendid possession, though owing to an honourable generosity, was one of the greatest errors ever committed by the English government, and is the most important political mistake chargeable against Lord Castlereagh ; but the attention of that great man, absorbed by objects of Continental interest, was not at that moment sufficiently drawn to the great and growing colonial empire of Great Britain. The dominions thus acquired by the house of Orange embraced some of the richest and most flourishing provinces in Europe, containing in all, with Holland, no less than five million four hundred and twenty-four thousand inhabitants, peopled at the rate of 1829 to the square league. It was a condition of its erection, that the new kingdom should be ruled by a representative government, framed very much on the model of that of France, and that the kingdom of the Netherlands, jointly with England, should undertake the burden of a loan of fifty million florins, (£4,200,000,) formerly borrowed by Russia from the capitalists of Amsterdam.¹

¹ Treaty, May 19, 1815. Schoell, xi. 119. Malte Brun, viii. 667.

62.

Settlement of the affairs of Switzerland.

The affairs of Switzerland, at the same time, occupied the attention of the Congress ; but as the desire for aggrandisement on the part of none of the great powers was turned in that direction, they were adjusted with ease and with great impartiality. The confederacy was declared to embrace the whole nineteen cantons, as they stood by the convention of Bâle on 29th December 1813,² on an equal footing, which effectually excluded the unjust principle that one state should be subjected to another state. The Valais, Geneva and its territory, with the principality of Neufchatel, were united to Switzerland, and formed so many cantons. The bishopric of Bâle, with the town of Bienne, was restored to the canton of Berne ;³ and a great variety of lesser arrangements were adopted, to regulate the pecuniary concerns of the diffe-

² Ante, c. lxxxiv. § 56.

May 27.
³ Schoell, xi. 96, 115 ; and Recueil, viii. 336.

rent cantons, of which these mountaineers were in the highest degree tenacious. This constitution was formerly acceded to by the whole cantons on 27th May 1815, and has ever since formed the basis of the Helvetic confederacy.

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XCII.

1815.

The decision of the question regarding Saxony was somewhat more expeditious. The unhappy Frederick Augustus, who, since the fatal overthrow of Leipsic, had inhabited the castle of Friedrichsfeld as a sort of state prisoner, was invited by the Allied sovereigns to approach the vicinity of Vienna, and arrived at Presburg on the 4th March, just two days before intelligence arrived of the departure of Napoleon from Elba. By the intervention of Great Britain, this intricate and delicate negotiation was adjusted; the share of Saxony devolving to Prussia was reduced to a territory containing one million one hundred thousand souls; and Hanover was contented with a portion containing two hundred and fifty thousand. Prussia accepted these modifications; and the King of Saxony, threatened with the total loss of his dominions in the event of refusal, had no alternative, after long holding out, but compliance. Under protest, therefore, that his consent to the alienation of so large a portion of his dominions was constrained, he submitted to the conditions; the King of Prussia was authorised, by a note of the Congress, to take possession of the ceded territory; and at length, by a formal treaty concluded on the 18th May, peace was finally ratified between the contending parties. By this treaty, Saxony ceded to Prussia, in perpetuity, the whole of Lower Lusatia, part of Upper Lusatia, the fortress and circle of Wittenberg, the circle of Thuringia, and various other territories on the right bank of the Elbe, containing one million one hundred thousand souls. Prussia at the same time acquired a portion of the Grand-duchy of Warsaw, containing eight hundred and ten thousand inhabitants, in addition to the whole territories which she possessed before the battle of Jena; acquisitions which raised her population to above ten millions of souls, and elevated her to the rank of a first-rate power. Dresden, Leipsic, and not quite two-thirds of his old dominions, remained to the King of Saxony; and although Europe deeply sympathised with an ancient and respectable

63.
And of
Saxony.

March 12.

May 18.

CHAP.
XCII.

1815.

¹ See the Treaty, in Martens' N. R. ii. 272; and Schoell, xi. 61, 72.

house, under this cruel partition of its territories, yet it was impossible to deny that the sovereign had brought the catastrophe upon himself; and that, as he had cast in his lot with Napoleon, largely participated in his conquests, and to the last resisted all the efforts of the Allies to detach him from his alliance, so he could not in justice complain if he shared his fall.¹

64.
Acts of the Congress for the free navigation of the Rhine, and the abolition of the slave trade.

It only remains to add, before finally taking leave of the Congress of Vienna, that on two points of importance, the one to the internal interests of Europe, and the other to the general interests of humanity, its deliberations, actuated by philanthropy and guided by wisdom, conferred a lasting benefit on mankind. 1st—Wise regulations were established for securing the free navigation of its great rivers, particularly the Rhine, the Necker, and the Meuse, without at the same time abrogating the just rights of the potentates who were interested in the dues of the passage. Moderate duties were established, to be drawn by a central board, and allotted to each of the proprietors who substantiated titles, in proportion to their respective interests. The rents amounted to five hundred and eleven thousand florins, or £42,000 a-year. 2d—The great and important subject of the abolition of the slave trade occupied a considerable portion of the attention of the Congress. The House of Commons had petitioned the King of England to use his endeavours to procure the abolition, by all civilised nations, of this infamous traffic, and several states had concluded treaties with Great Britain, more or less stringent, for its limitation or abolition. In particular, this had been done by a treaty with the court of Rio Janeiro in 1810, and that of Sweden in 1813. Denmark had previously set the first example of the great deed of justice, by abolishing the traffic in 1794, by an edict to come into operation after the lapse of ten years. Before leaving Paris, Lord Castlereagh had addressed a circular to all the Allied powers, earnestly requesting their co-operation in that great object; and not only had they all expressed opinions favourable to the proposed abolition, but the King of the Netherlands, by a decree in June 1815, abolished it in his dominions. A treaty was also concluded between England and Spain, by which the King of Spain engaged to take efficacious measures for abolish-

Feb. 19,
1810.

March 3,
1813.

Jan. 1, 1794.

June 15,
1815.

ing the slave trade throughout his dominions ; and at the Congress of Vienna a great step was made in the same career by a treaty with Portugal, by which the slave trade was absolutely prohibited to the subjects of Portugal to the north of the equator : no less than £600,000 was the price paid by England for this concession to the principles of humanity. Great resistance, however, was made by France and Spain to the efforts of Lord Castlereagh, to procure the consent of their respective courts to the entire abolition of the slave trade within any limited period ; and all that he could obtain was, a joint declaration signed by all the powers, of their abhorrence of the traffic, and their desire for its being effectually put an end to, but leaving the period for its entire abolition to be fixed by separate negotiations between the different powers.¹

Italy presented in some respects a more complicated field for diplomacy. The cession, indeed, of Lombardy to Austria, and of the Genoese republic to the kingdom of Piedmont, was at once agreed to without any difficulty, despite the earnest remonstrances of the citizens of the latter commonwealth, who passionately desired the restoration of their ancient form of government :—so strongly was the necessity felt of strengthening the states on the French frontier, and above all the kingdom of Sardinia, in whose hands the keys of the most important passes from France into Italy were placed. But the conflicting claims of Murat and the old Bourbon family to the throne of Naples, excited a warm interest at the Congress ; the more especially as Alexander, out of pique at the resistance of the court of France to his views in regard to Poland and Saxony, now openly supported the claims of the former to the crown, grounding his support on the engagement of Austria to maintain him in his throne, and enlarge his territory when he joined the Grand Alliance. The other powers, however, were far from sharing these sentiments : the court of Rome felt the utmost alarm at the close proximity of an ambitious prince, who openly coveted, and had more than once attempted to seize, the papal territories ; and Austria was little inclined to permit the permanent establishment of a revolutionary throne so near the inflammable materials

CHAP.
XCII.

1815.

July 5,
1814.Jan. 21 and
22, 1814,

Feb. 8, 1815.

¹ Schoell,
Hist. des
Trait. de
Paix, xi. 247,
257, and 173,
189.

65.

Affairs of
Italy, and
alarm of
Napoleon's
return.

CHAP.
XCII.1815.
Feb. 25.

Feb. 15.

¹ Schoell,
Traité de
Paix, xi. 189,
195.66.
Conference
for the re-
moval of
Napoleon
from Elba,
when he
leaves that
island.

of her Italian provinces. Murat, in a laboured memorial, earnestly appealed to England to support him in his throne, in terms of the engagement undertaken by Lord William Bentinck and General Nugent; but Lord Castlereagh officially announced to the Congress in the end of February, that Murat had so completely failed in the performance of his own engagements, that he had virtually liberated the Allies from theirs, and that they were not bound to maintain him on the throne. Meanwhile, Murat was so far from anticipating any danger to his Neapolitan crown, that he was dreaming of the sceptre of the whole of Italy south of the Po; and with that view, in spite of all the representations of Austria and the court of Rome, kept military possession of the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Ravenna, as the frontier provinces of his anticipated dominions. Nay, so far did he carry his extravagance, that on the 15th February he made a formal demand for the passage of eighty thousand men through the Austrian territories in Italy, to act against France; a proposition which only tended to augment the apprehensions of the cabinet of Vienna, and led to the force of that power, in the Italian Peninsula, being augmented to a hundred and fifty thousand men.¹

This military position and demand excited the jealousy of the Allied powers; the more especially as, towards the end of February, rumours reached Vienna of constant correspondence between the isle of Elba and the adjoining shores of Italy, and of an intended descent by Napoleon on the coast of France. These rumours soon acquired such consistency, that the propriety of removing him from the neighbourhood of Italy had already been more than once agitated in the Congress; and various places of residence for him, in exchange for Elba, had been proposed—among others, one of the Canary islands, which was suggested by the Portuguese minister, and St Helena or St Lucie, which were proposed by Lord Castlereagh. Alexander, however, still firmly held out for adhering to the treaty of Fontainebleau, and maintaining the fallen Emperor in possession of the island of Elba: alleging, as a reason, that his personal honour had been pledged to his great antagonist for that asylum, and that he would not be

the first to break it. But Metternich, better informed, was so strongly impressed with the impending danger, that he secretly despatched a letter to Fouché at Paris, inquiring What would happen if Napoleon returned?—what if the King of Rome with a squadron of horse appeared on the frontier?—and what would France do if left to its spontaneous movement? The sagacious minister of police replied that if one regiment sent against Napoleon ranged itself on his side, the whole army would follow its example—that if the King of Rome was escorted to the frontiers by an Austrian regiment, the whole nation would instantly hoist his colours: and that, if no external stimulus was applied, the nation would seek refuge in the Orleans dynasty. These dangers, however, were only appreciated by the few who had foresight equal to the Austrian statesman or French revolutionist: and all heads at Vienna were involved in a whirl of gaiety, splendour, and dissipation, which gave rise to the witty saying of the Prince de Ligne, “the Congress dances, but it does not advance;” when, on the 7th March, intelligence was brought to Metternich, on the eve of a great ball at Vienna, that NAPOLEON HAD SECRETLY LEFT ELBA.¹

¹ Cap. i. 177,
180. Hard.
xii. 475, 476.
Schoell, xi.
207, 208.

If a thunderbolt had fallen in the middle of the brilliant circle assembled in the imperial saloon at Vienna, it could not have excited greater consternation than this simple announcement. It was deemed expedient, nevertheless, to conceal the alarm which all really felt, and next day Metternich, Wellington, and Talleyrand went to Presburg, to announce to the King of Saxony, as had been previously arranged, the determination come to by the Congress in regard to the cessions of territory which he was required to make, under the pain of losing his crown. The affairs of Saxony, however, were soon adjusted. All minor differences were immediately forgotten: the strides of Russia, the aggrandisement of Prussia, the terrors of Austria, were buried in oblivion: all lesser subjects of alarm were absorbed in the pressing danger arising from the return of Napoleon to the throne of France. Alexander was profoundly irritated at the event. Alone, he had for long contended against the other powers at the Congress for the maintenance of

67.
Prodigious
sensation
excited in the
Congress by
this event.
March 7.

CHAP.
XCII.

1815.

¹ Sir C.
Stuart's
Despatch to
Lord Castle-
reagh,
March 8,
1815. Cap. i.
179, 185.
Thib. x. 224,
225.

Napoleon in the island of Elba, as a thing to which, whether right or wrong, his personal honour was engaged. He felt it, therefore, as a personal injury, when the object of his solicitude was himself the first to break his engagement. Much uncertainty at first prevailed as to the place of his destination, and many suspected it was Naples, where Murat was openly preparing for hostilities: but all doubt was soon removed; the posts of the succeeding days brought intelligence by the way of Turin, that he had landed in the Gulf of St Juan, near Frejus; that he had taken the road for Paris through the mountains of Gap: in fine, that Labedoyère and the garrison of Grenoble had joined him, and he was making an unresisted and triumphant progress towards Lyons.¹

68.
Decided
measures of
the Congress
against
Napoleon.

March 12.

As the revolt of the army and approaching downfall of the throne of Louis XVIII. could no longer be doubted, the Congress took the most vigorous measures to provide against the danger. The cabinet of Vienna felt it to be its duty to take the lead on this occasion; not only as its apprehensions had been the main cause of the late divisions which had prevailed in the deliberations of the Allies, but because Napoleon, relying on his family connexion with the imperial House of Hapsburg, had disseminated with profusion on his road to Grenoble a proclamation, in which he declared that he had returned to France with the concurrence of Austria, and that he was speedily to be supported by a hundred thousand of the troops of that nation. Metternich, therefore, in the first formal meeting held to deliberate on the course which should be pursued, stated that it would be worthy of the Allied powers, and of the highest importance in the existing crisis, to express their opinion on an event, which could not fail to create a great sensation in every part of Europe: that Napoleon Buonaparte, in quitting the island of Elba, and disembarking in France at the head of an armed force, had openly rendered himself the disturber of the general peace; that as such he could no longer claim the protection of any treaty or law; that the powers who had signed the treaty of Paris felt themselves, in an especial manner, called upon to declare in the face of Europe in what light they viewed that attempt; that they should add, that they

were resolved at all hazards to carry into effect the whole provisions of the treaty of Paris ; and that they were all prepared to support the King of France with their whole forces, in the event of circumstances rendering their assistance necessary. These sentiments, which had been previously concerted with Talleyrand, specially in order to detach the cause of Napoleon from that of the independence of the French monarchy, met with the unanimous and cordial concurrence of all present : and, in consequence, a declaration was forthwith drawn up and signed by all the powers, which, in the most rigid terms, proscribed Napoleon as a public enemy, with whom neither peace nor truce could be concluded, and expressed the determination of the powers to employ the whole forces at their disposal, to prevent Europe from being again plunged into the abyss of revolution.^{1*}

CHAP.
XCII.
1815.

¹ Schoell,
Hist. des
Trait. xi. 207,
208. Cap. i.
182, 183.

This energetic and decisive proclamation was immediately forwarded to Paris by the way of Strasburg, with instructions to the courier intrusted with it, to circulate as many copies as possible in the different towns and villages through which he passed in his route from the Rhine to the capital. Nor were the efforts of the Allied sovereigns confined to mere denunciations on paper : the most vigorous measures were immediately taken to assemble a powerful force in the field. The Russian troops in Poland, two hundred and eighty thousand strong, were directed to hold themselves in readiness to

69.
Military pre-
parations of
the Allied
powers.

* “ The powers which signed the treaty of Paris, reassembled in Congress at Vienna, informed of the escape of Napoleon Buonaparte, and of his entry with an armed force into France, owe it to their own dignity and to the interests of nations, to make a solemn announcement of their sentiments on the occasion. In breaking, after this manner, the convention which had established him in the island of Elba, Buonaparte has destroyed the sole legal title to which his political existence is attached. By reappearing in France, with projects of trouble and overthrow, he has not less deprived himself of the protection of the laws, and made it evident in the face of the universe that there can no longer be either peace or truce with him. The powers, therefore, declare that Buonaparte has placed himself out of the pale of civil and social relations, and that, as the general enemy and disturber of the world, he is abandoned to public justice. They declare at the same time that, firmly resolved to maintain untouched the treaty of Paris of 30th May 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty, they will employ the whole means at their disposal to secure the preservation of general peace, the object of all their efforts ; and although firmly persuaded that the whole of France will combine to crush this last mad attempt of criminal ambition, yet, if it should prove otherwise, they declare that they are ready to unite all their efforts, and exert all the powers at their disposal, to give the King of France all necessary assistance, and make common cause against all those who shall compromise the public tranquillity.—METTERNICH, TALLEYRAND, WEL- LINGTON, HARDENBERG, NESSELRODE, LOWENHEIM.”—See SCHOELL, *Recueil des Pièces Officielles*, v. 1.

CHAP.
XCII.
1815.

march at a moment's notice. Alexander declared, "that he was ready to throw into the crusade the three hundred thousand men of whom he had the disposal, to put an end to these revolts of Prætorian Guards; and that, as he had been the most culpable in having retained Napoleon so long at Elba, so he would be the first to repair his fault:" Austria put on the war footing her armies in Italy and Germany, amounting to two hundred and fifty thousand men: Prussia called forth the landwehr in all her dominions, and raised her forces to two hundred thousand men, of whom a hundred and fifty thousand were ordered to march to the Low Countries: the lesser states of Germany all called out their respective contingents, and, amidst songs of triumph and threats of vengeance, moved towards the Rhine: while England, now delivered from the pressure of the American war, exerted extraordinary activity both in pouring troops into Flanders, and providing for the equipment of the newly raised forces of the Belgians. Numerous levies were raised in Hanover, and the old troops already had begun their march for the Flemish frontier. Even Denmark and Sweden, forgetting their recent divisions, began to arm, and took measures to join the general coalition of Europe: and the Swiss cantons, departing from the cautious neutrality they had hitherto preserved, prepared to take an active part in the strife, and assail France on the side where it was most vulnerable. At the same time, Spain and Portugal joined in the general league, and slowly organised their battalions to march towards the Pyrenees. And thus was verified the saying of Chateaubriand, "that if the cocked-hat and surtout of Napoleon were placed on a stick on the shores of Brest, it would cause Europe to run to arms from one end to the other."¹

¹ Cap. i. 194,
196. Schoell,
Hist. des
Trait. de
Paix, xi. 213,
214.

70.
Settlement of
the affairs of
Poland.

The imminent danger which the whole powers ran from the return of the French Emperor, speedily led to a decision of the long-debated questions regarding Poland and Saxony. Russia at length agreed to accept of the Grand-duchy of Warsaw, without the fortress of Thorn and its dependent territory, with the exception of a portion of it, containing eight hundred thousand souls, which was to be ceded to Prussia; and it was expressly stipulated

that Poland should not be incorporated with Russia, but should form a separate kingdom, preserving its own laws, institutions, language, and religion. After a great deal of negotiation, a treaty was concluded on these bases on the 3d May, between Russia and Saxony; another on May 3. the same day, between Prussia and Russia; and a third between Austria, Russia, and Prussia. By these arrangements, Saxony ceded to Russia in perpetuity the Grand-duchy of Warsaw, to be erected into a separate kingdom in favour of the Emperor of Russia, but not incorporated with that empire: the ancient town of Cracow, with a small territory adjacent, was erected into a separate republic, containing in all sixty-one thousand souls, with the shadow at least of independence. By this treaty a portion of Poland recovered its long-lost nationality: above four millions of Sarmatians were restored to the rank of a separate people: the Russian viceroy at Warsaw maintained regal state, surrounded by Polish soldiers, Polish uniforms, Polish ministers, and Polish institutions. A constitution establishing the elements of freedom, defective indeed in some essential particulars, but still a vast improvement upon its old stormy *comitia*, was guaranteed: and so great was the growth of the nation, and the improvement of its strength under the regular and stable government which followed, that on occasion of the revolt of 1830, it singly withstood, guided by the genius of Skrynecki, the whole military force of Russia for nine months, and was at length subdued only by the accession of Prussia to the league of its enemies. Such as they were, these blessings were mainly to be ascribed to the philanthropic disposition of the Emperor Alexander, and the determined stand made by Lord Castlereagh: but, in common with many other guarantees of real freedom, they perished fifteen years afterwards under the assault of democracy, roused into frantic activity by the triumph of the Barricades which subverted the throne of Charles X.¹

¹ See the Treaties in Martens' N. R. ii. 236, 251; iv. 127; and abridged in Schoell, Trait. de Paix, xi. 74, 89.

It was not surprising that the European powers strove to reconcile their divisions, and accommodate their differences at the Congress of Vienna; for Napoleon had now landed in France, and was making rapidly for Paris, the ancient seat of his power. With a blindness to the

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1815.

71.

Situation of
Napoleon at
Elba. Com-
mencement
of a con-
spiracy in
France in his
favour.

future and probable course of events, which now appears scarcely conceivable, but of which, at the time of the treaty of Fontainebleau, Lord Castlereagh had fully appreciated the danger, the unreflecting generosity of the Allied sovereigns had assigned to Napoleon, in independent sovereignty, a little island on the Tuscan coast, within sight of Italy, within a few days' sail of France, and in a situation of all others the most favourable for carrying on intrigues with both countries. As if, too, they had purposely intended to invite a second descent, he was placed there with an ample revenue, an armed force,—which was soon raised, by veterans who flocked to his standard from the adjacent shores, to above a thousand tried and experienced soldiers,—and three small vessels of war at his disposal; while there was not a single English line-of-battle ship or frigate to prevent an expedition sailing against the coast of France. Sir Neil Campbell and the other Allied commissioners, indeed, were there, and enjoyed a large share of the society of the Emperor; but they were merely a species of accredited diplomatists at his court: they could only report to their respective cabinets what was going on, and were not entitled to restrain his proceedings, nor had they any armed force at their disposal to coerce his attempts. A brig of eighteen guns, also, cruised off the island; but it was wholly unable to blockade Porto Ferrajo, or prevent the descent of the Emperor at the head of his Guards on the adjacent shores. It might have been foreseen what would be the result of this extraordinary facility afforded to the dethroned conqueror. In him, as in all mankind, the desire to reign, when its pleasures had been once felt, was insatiable.* A constant correspondence was maintained by Napoleon with his adherents in France and Italy; his friends and relatives were continually in communication with or visiting him; and soon a vast conspiracy was formed, with its centre in Paris,¹ and its ramifications throughout the whole army and a great part of the civil functionaries,

¹ Sir N.
Campbell's
MS. Thib.
x. 223, 225.
Cap. i. 104,
Montg. viii.
98, 99.

* “ Mille exemples sanglans nous peuvent l'enseigner
Il n'est rien qui ne cède à l'ardeur de regner,
Et depuis qu'une fois elle nous inquiète,
La nature est aveugle et la vertu muette.”

CORNEILLE, *Nicomede*, Act ii. S. 1.

having for its object to overturn the dynasty of the Bourbons, and replace the Emperor on the throne.

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The inferior officers and soldiers of the army were in an especial manner the seat of this conspiracy. The marshals and generals, worn out with war, and glad at any price to secure the peaceable possession of their titles and fortunes, had in good faith, for the most part, embraced the party of the Restoration. But though the troops had formally taken the oath to the new government, yet in their hearts they had never renounced their allegiance to the Emperor; and their devotion to him was only the more profound, that time had weakened the remembrance of their disasters, and that no present fatigue or sufferings interfered with the charm of old recollections. In them was verified the old saying, that strong passions are increased, weak ones only diminished by absence. The snows of Russia, the overthrow of Leipsic, the disasters of France, were forgotten: he appeared only to their memories as the hero of Rivoli or Austerlitz—the resistless chief who led them, conquering and to conquer, to almost every capital of continental Europe. These feelings were all but universal in the troops and in the officers, from the colonels downwards. While the generals and marshals besieged the antechambers of the Tuileries, and signed loyal addresses, resounding with the fleurs-de-lys, Henry IV., and the white flag, the poor soldiers, often the last depositaries, in a corrupted age, of fidelity and attachment, in secret adhered to their old allegiance: they guarded the Emperor's eagles as their household gods, kept the tricolor cockades with pious care in their knapsacks, spoke with rapture of his exploits in their barracks, and worshipped his image in their hearts. Various words to signify the beloved object were invented, and though known to thousands and tens of thousands, the secret was religiously preserved. He was called “Père la Violette,” and the “Petit Caporal:” and the rumour spread through the army, “that he would appear with the violet in spring on the Seine, to chase from thence the priests and emigrants who have insulted the national glory.”¹

72.
Its great
ramifications
in the army.

¹ Cap. i. 110,
113. Thib.
x. 224, 225.

Its close proximity to the Italian shore, led naturally to a secret correspondence between the island of Elba and the court of Naples. Murat, ever governed by ambition,

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73.

Napoleon's
correspon-
dence with
Murat. Pro-
found dis-
simulation,
and life in
Elba.

¹ Ante, c.
xliv. § 47.

² Ante, c.
lxxxix. § 24.

³ Lord Eb-
rington's
conversations
with Napo-
leon, 5, 46.
Sir Neil
Campbell's
MS. Cap. i.
191.

74.
Napoleon's
astute con-
fidence to
Sir Neil
Campbell.

and yet destitute of the firmness of purpose requisite to render it successful, now found that his vacillation of conduct had ruined him with the aristocratic, as it had formerly done with the revolutionary party, and that the Allies were little disposed to reward his deviation from his engagements by the lasting possession of the throne of Naples. He threw himself, therefore, once more into the arms of France; and it was arranged that the descent of Napoleon on the coast of Provence should be contemporaneous with the advance of his troops to the Po, and the proclamation of the great principle of Italian unity and independence. At the same time, various illustrious strangers of both sexes visited Napoleon at Elba: among the former was Lord Ebrington, who has given the world a most interesting account of his conversation with the fallen hero; among the latter, the Polish lady who had fascinated him before the battle of Eylau¹—the French ladies who had alleviated his anguish amidst the deserts of Fontainebleau.² Amidst this varied society, by some of whom the great intrigue which was going forward was conducted, the language of the Emperor was always the same, and his profound powers of dissimulation were never more strikingly evinced. To the English he spoke only of the new constitution in France, the errors and difficulties of the King; the irretrievable folly of the Bourbons; the inapplicability of British institutions to the present state of French society; the impossibility of finding a Chamber of Deputies not either servile or turbulent; the entire termination of his own political existence, and the calm eye with which he now looked back on the stormy scene in which he had no longer any interest.³

To Sir Neil Campbell, in particular, he was apparently communicative and confidential in the highest degree. Almost every morning he admitted him to his breakfast table, when the conversation ranged over every subject of history and politics; they then strolled out along the beach, in company with some of the other commissioners, and he not unfrequently embarked with Sir Neil alone in a small boat, under pretence of fishing, and when he got a little way out from the shore said, "Now, we are out of their hearing, ask me any thing, and I will tell you." By these means the Emperor so far gained upon the

confidence of that able officer, that he contented himself with reporting these precious conversations to his cabinet, and, deeming no danger at hand, though not unlikely at some future period to occur, was frequently absent for days together, at Florence or Leghorn, where he had several interesting acquaintances, among whom were fascinations of no ordinary kind. But even if he had been every day at the Emperor's side, it would have been of hardly any avail, for there were no visible preparations going on ; if there had, he had no force whatever at his disposal to check them ; and his instructions were merely to attend General Buonaparte to Elba, to see him established there, and remain as long as the ex-Emperor might desire his presence.^{1*}

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¹ Sir Neil Campbell's MS. Cap. i. 121, 126. Lord Ebrington's conversations with Napoleon in Elba, 23, 36.

All things being at length in readiness, and the preparations in France, by means of the inferior officers of the army, the veteran Republicans at Paris, and the old Imperial functionaries still retained in office by the government, completed, Napoleon, on the 26th of February, gave a brilliant ball at Porto Ferrajo to the principal persons of the island, over which the grace and beauty of his sister, the Princess Pauline, who presided, threw an unusual lustre. Sir Neil Campbell unfortunately was absent, having sailed on the 17th in the Partridge for Leghorn : and so well had the preparations for departure been concealed, that Captain Adige, who commanded that vessel, had no conception that any departure was intended, and sailed from Leghorn the very day of Napoleon's embarkation. Sir Neil was well aware that Napoleon meditated an outbreak, and some recent indications, particularly the arrival of three feluccas from Naples, made him suspect that it would ere long occur ; but as he had no force at his disposal, and the single British cruiser, the Partridge of eighteen guns, was wholly unequal to the encounter of the whole flotilla of Napoleon,² he contented himself with

75.
Napoleon's preparations for embarking from Elba.

² Sir Neil Campbell's MS. Jour. Captain Adige's Rep. to Admiral Penrose, March 15, 1815.

* " You will pay every proper respect and attention to Napoleon, to whose secure asylum in Elba it is the wish of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent to afford every facility and protection ; and you will acquaint Napoleon, in suitable terms of attention, that you are directed to reside in the island till further orders, if he should consider that the presence of a British officer can be of any use in protecting the island and his person against insult or attack."—LORD CASTLEREAGH'S *Instructions to SIR NEIL CAMPBELL*. *Paris, 16th April, 1814*.—SIR NEIL CAMPBELL'S MS.

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warning government of the chance of his escape,* and had gone to Leghorn principally to concert measures with Lord Burghersh, the British envoy at Florence, on the means of averting the danger which appeared approaching, by detaching a line-of-battle ship and frigate which lay at Genoa to cruise off the island, when in his absence it actually occurred.

76.
He leaves El-
ba, and steers
for the gulf of
St Juan.

While Napoleon's mother and sister were doing the honours of the ball, he himself walked around the room, conversing in the most affable manner with the guests. Meanwhile, secret orders had been despatched to his Guards, to hold themselves in readiness on the quay. At three o'clock in the afternoon they were all drawn up there, in number about eleven hundred, of whom four hundred were of the Old Guard, under the command of Bertrand, Drouot, and Cambronne. Napoleon joined them at half-past four, and orders were immediately given for commencing the embarkation. By seven o'clock it was completed, and the Emperor stepped on board the Inconstant brig, which contained four hundred of his old comrades in arms. His air was calm and serene: he merely said, in an under voice to those around him, "The die is now cast." The eyes of Bertrand gleamed with joy; Drouot was pensive and thoughtful; Cambronne seemed entirely occupied with the arrangement of his soldiers. It was dark when the flotilla, which consisted in all of seven small vessels, got under weigh: Napoleon had given out to the inhabitants, "that he was going to the coast of Barbary to chastise the pirates, who from time immemorial had infested the coasts of Elba;" and sealed instructions were delivered to the captain of the Inconstant, not to be read till they were at open sea. The night was calm, the wind light from the south; and

* "If I may venture an opinion upon Buonaparte's plan, I think he will leave General Bertrand to defend Porto Ferrajo, as he has a wife and several children with him, to whom he is extremely attached, and probably will not communicate his intentions to him till the last moment. He will take with him General Drouot, and those of his Guards upon whom he can most depend, embarking General Cambronne (a desperate, uneducated ruffian, who was a drummer with him in Egypt) in the Inconstant, L'Etoile, and the other vessels mentioned in the memorandum; he will go himself, probably a day or two before the troops, with General Drouot in the Caroline, and the place of disembarkation will be Gaeta on the coast of Naples, or Civita Vecchia, if Murat has previously advanced to Rome."—SIR N. CAMPBELL to LORD CASTLEREAGH, dated Leghorn, 26th February 1815; SIR N. CAMPBELL'S MS. Papers, Despatch, No. 45.

it was not till they were two leagues from the harbour that the captain opened his orders, and saw that his destination was the gulf of St Juan on the coast of Provence. He immediately steered in that direction, and the transports of the soldiers could no longer be restrained. "Officers and soldiers of my Guard," said Napoleon, "we are going to France." Loud cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" immediately burst out on all sides: but after the first transport of enthusiasm was over, sad presentiments filled the breasts of the soldiers; the recollection of Moscow and Leipsic returned to their minds; and even the bravest hesitated as to the result of an expedition, in which the Emperor, at the head of a thousand men, set out to brave the military force of all Europe.¹

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¹ Sir Neil Campbell's Journal, MS. Cap. i. 153, 154. Beauch. iii. 141, 143. Thib. x. 225, 226.

During the night the wind fell, and at daybreak they were only six leagues from the nearest point of Elba. Napoleon shut himself up in his cabin, and dictated those proclamations to the people and army, which soon thrilled through France, from Calais to Bayonne. Some of the least resolute on board, seeing the wind fail, suggested that it would be prudent to return to Porto Ferrajo; but the Emperor replied, "If the ships are too heavily laden, throw all the baggage overboard: the idea of returning to Elba is pusillanimous; we bear France on the point of our swords." Opposite Leghorn on the 27th, Feb. 27. a French frigate was descried five leagues to windward; but it did not approach. The Zephyr French brig soon after came within hail: the soldiers took off their caps, and lay flat on deck to avoid discovery; and the captain having asked if they had come from Elba, and how Napoleon was, he himself answered, "*Il se porte à merveille.*" Suspecting nothing, the brig passed on: on the evening of the 29th, the lofty towers of Antibes were descried; Feb. 29. and Napoleon, amidst loud cheers, read his proclamation to his soldiers, who all mounted the tricolor cockade. Without molestation the fleet pursued its course; soon the olive-clad slopes of Cannes opened to the view; and at three o'clock on the afternoon of the 1st March, the whole March 1. vessels cast anchor in the gulf of St Juan. The Old Guard, under Drouot, was immediately landed without opposition; shortly after, Napoleon himself descended into the long boat of the brig, and approached the shore:

77.
Voyage and landing there.

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¹ Fleury de
Chaboulon, i.
23, 26, 153,
156. Cap. i.
139, 141.

78.
He marches
by Gap to
Grenoble.

March 1.

² Fleury de
Chaboulon, i.
157, 171.
Cap. i. 145.
Beauch. iii.
149, 154.

on reaching the sand, it was moored to the trunk of an olive-tree. "That is a good omen," cried the Emperor, whose mind on momentous occasions was singularly alive to superstitious impressions; and he caused it to be mentioned to his soldiers, who received it with joyfulness. Stepping ashore, he gave a few napoleons to his attendants, to buy horses from the neighbouring peasants: spoke cheerfully, and with the magic which he had so wonderfully at his command, to the men: encouraged his officers by animated and varied conversation; and at night the watches were set, and the troops bivouacked, as on the eve of the battles of Austerlitz or Wagram.¹

The dangers of the passage were now over; but there remained the perils of the shore, which were sufficient to daunt the most resolute breasts. Though the great conspiracy, having for its object the overthrow of the Bourbons, had ramifications in almost every regiment in the army, yet it was in a few instances only that the superior officers had been gained; and it was as yet uncertain whether or not the men would disobey the orders of those of them who had not. The first attempt was unsuccessful; twenty-five of the Old Guard were sent to Antibes to endeavour to seduce the garrison by the name of the Emperor; but General Corsin, who commanded in that fortress, arrested the men; and on a second detachment being brought up, which began to read at the foot of the rampart the proclamations issued by Napoleon, he cut the matter short by threatening to discharge the guns. This check spread great discouragement among the soldiers, and induced a moment's hesitation in the mind of the Emperor: but he had gone too far to recede; and at four o'clock in the following morning he took the road by Gap to Grenoble, through the mountains. This road, after quitting the Var at Sisteron, ascends into the Alpine range, which it never quits till it arrives in the neighbourhood of the latter town. No district of France could have been selected more favourable to the Emperor's designs, for it contains no great towns or wealthy districts; and the inhabitants, strongly imbued with the feelings of Helvetic independence, fearless and active as are all mountaineers, were in great part holders of national domains, and strongly imbued with the principles of the Revolution.²

They received him in consequence with open arms ; and his versatile disposition flattered the prevailing wish wherever he went. Every where he spread the announcements most likely to be agreeable to the simple people to whom they were addressed.

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Sometimes he declared that he was weary of war ; that he would be as pacific as the Bourbons ; that he would abolish the *droits réunis*, and never revive the conscription : at others, that Austria had engaged to support him with a hundred thousand men ; that Murat was following him with eighty thousand ; in fine, that the Congress had dethroned Louis XVIII. On all occasions he styled the people citizens, and spoke the language most calculated to revive the revolutionary fervour in their minds :

79.
Napoleon's varied language to the soldiers and people.
March 2.

“Why had he come to France ? why had he hoisted the tricolor flag ? It was to restore the liberty of 1789 ; to recognise all the privileges conquered by the Revolution ; to secure the proprietors of the national domains menaced by the Bourbons ; to give equal rights to all.” Meanwhile, the advance was pressed with extraordinary activity : in the first two days they marched fifty-four miles ; at Digne, on the 4th, his proclamations were printed ; near Sisteron the troops admired the good fortune which had left the formidable pass of the Saulce, between the Durance and an overhanging precipice, unguarded ; at Gap he rested a few hours, and distributed his proclamations. Continuing his march with ceaseless vigour, he was already approaching Grenoble, when, on the 6th March, General Cambronne, at the head of the leading companies, met on the road of Vizille the advanced guard of the troops detached from the garrison of that fortress to arrest his progress.¹

March 4.

¹ Fleury de Chaboulon, i. 139, 147.
Cap. i. 145, 148. Beauch. iii. 149, 161.

Hitherto the march of Napoleon had been unresisted, and the dispositions of the peasants in the country through which he had passed had been favourable ; but nothing was yet decided. It was not by the mountaineers of Dauphiny, but by the troops of France, that the contest for the throne was to be determined : in such an enterprise as he was now engaged in, the conduct of the first regiment generally determines the rest, and every thing depended on the issue of the crisis which had now arrived. According to the plan which had been agreed

80.
Defection of Labedoyère, and his character.

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on before Napoleon left Elba, part of the garrison of Grenoble, under the command of Colonel Labedoyère, was to march out to meet him; and from their treason the defection of the whole army was anticipated. Labedoyère was an officer of handsome figure and elegant manners, descended of a respectable family, young, enthusiastic, and daring. He had owed his promotion and appointment to the royal court, but his heart dwelt on the glories of the empire: he had readily yielded at Paris to the seductions of the saloons of the Duchess of St Leu, one of the most fascinating supporters of Napoleon; and his mind, debased by the chicanery of the Revolution, saw nothing dishonourable in holding a high military command under the Bourbons, and employing the power it gave him to aid in their destruction. Charity forbids us to stigmatise such conduct by its true appellation. Infidelity and selfishness had totally perverted the human heart, and almost dried up the springs of conscience in many breasts. Marlborough himself, in similar circumstances, did the same. It is the strongest proof of the peril of revolution, and the infernal agency at work in its origination, that it overturns the whole principles of virtue in all hearts save those fortified by religion, and converts bravery and honour themselves into treachery and treason.¹

¹ Cap. i. 147,
148.

81.
Memorable
meeting of
Napoleon
with the
troops.
March 7.

An accidental circumstance, however, had well-nigh frustrated all these arrangements, and overthrown at its very outset this deep-laid conspiracy. General Marchand, the governor of Grenoble, although an old comrade of Napoleon in Egypt, was a man of honour, faithful to his trust, and entirely ignorant of the treason at work in his garrison. He had despatched towards Vizille a battalion of infantry and some guns, not under Labedoyère, with orders to observe the enemy, and retire before them to the ramparts of Grenoble, but on no account to permit any communication with Napoleon's soldiers. It was with these men that Cambronne's advanced guard first came up: and he was filled with consternation upon finding, when he approached, that no signs of defection appeared—that no parleying was permitted between the troops, and that resistance was evidently prepared. He immediately despatched an aide-de-camp to the Emperor,

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with the alarming intelligence. "We have been deceived," said Napoleon to Bertrand, "but it is no matter—forward!" Advancing then to the front of the advanced guard, in the well-known surtout and cocked hat which had become canonised in the recollection of the soldiers, he said aloud to the opposite rank, in a voice tremulous with emotion, "Comrades, do you know me again?" "Yes, sire," exclaimed the men. "Do you recognise me, my children?" he added: "I am your Emperor: fire on me if you wish: fire on your father: here is my bosom," and with that he bared his breast. At these words, the transports of the soldiers could no longer be restrained; as if struck by an electric shock, they all broke their ranks, threw themselves at the feet of the Emperor, embraced his knees with tears of joy, and with indescribable fervour again raised the old cry of *Vive l'Empereur!* Hardly had they risen from the ground, when the tricolor cockade was seen on every breast; the eagles reappeared on the standards; and the whole detachment sent out to combat the Emperor, ranged itself with fervent devotion on his side. The spot where this memorable meeting occurred is marked by a tree which overhangs the road, amidst those savage Alpine solitudes: few more interesting scenes are to be met with, even on the time-bespangled shores of the Mediterranean sea.¹

¹ Cap. i. 149, 150. Fleury de Chaboulon, i. 173, 174. Personal observation of the scene.

Meanwhile, Labedoyère had assembled his regiment, and in defiance alike of the commands of General Marchand, and of the injunctions of the prefect, who in vain endeavoured to retain him in his duty, left Grenoble at the head of his men, in the most violent state of excitement. Hardly was he out of the gates when he drew an eagle from his pocket, which he embraced before the soldiers, who shouted *Vive l'Empereur!* and a drum having been opened containing tricolor cockades, which were immediately distributed among the men, the whole, amidst tumultuous shouts of joy, advanced, and met Napoleon. He bestowed on Labedoyère the most flattering marks of regard, and the united columns, now nearly three thousand strong, in the afternoon approached the fortress. Marchand and the prefect did their utmost to induce the garrison to resist, but all their efforts were in vain; the *prestige* of the Emperor was irresistible; and

82.
His entry into Grenoble.

CHAP.
XCII.

1815.

¹ Fleury de
Chaboulon, i.
174, 177.
Cap. i. 130,
132.

83.
His decrees
from thence.
March 8.

March 1.
² Moniteur,
March 21,
1815. Fleury
de Chabou-
lon, i. 224,
230.

84.
His noble
proclamation
to the troops.

finding their orders disregarded, they took the part of men of honour, and retired from situations of trust in which they could no longer exercise their functions. Soon after Napoleon arrived at the gates of Grenoble, behind which an enthusiastic crowd of soldiers and citizens was assembled, in the most vehement state of exultation. The gates were locked, but they were soon forced open; and Napoleon made his entry by torchlight, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, and took up his abode at the Cheval Blanc, kept by an old veteran of his Guard.¹

Three decrees of great importance were issued by the Emperor from Grenoble. The first declared that all the acts of government should henceforth run in his name; this was in effect to resume the throne. By the second, the National Guards of the five neighbouring departments were called out and placed in activity. By the third, the fortress of Grenoble was intrusted to these National Guards. At the same time, he explained in conversation to M. Champollion the view which he took of the altered state of his affairs. "The Bourbons," said he, "had accustomed the people to political rights: he was prepared to follow out the same system—in a word, to apply to the cause of the Revolution the results of a constitutional government." In conformity with these ideas, he said, in answer to an address from the authorities and citizens of Grenoble, "I have been too fond of war: I will wage it no longer: I return to restore its rights to the nation: I desire only to be its first citizen." In proclamations drawn in the masculine spirit of ancient oratory, one addressed to the French people, the other to the army, he repudiated the idea of their defeat, ascribed their misfortunes to treachery, and invited them again to range themselves around the tricolor standard.²

"Soldiers!" said he, "we have not been conquered! Two men sprung from our ranks have betrayed our laurels, their country, their prince, their benefactor. Shall those whom we have seen during twenty years fly over every part of Europe to raise up opposition against us; who have passed their lives in the enemies' camps uttering execrations against our beautiful France; shall they pretend to command us, to enchain our eagles—they

who have so often quailed beneath their glance? Shall we suffer them to reap the fruits of our glorious labours: to take possession of our honours, of our effects: to calumniate your glory? Should their reign continue, all would be lost,—even to the recollection of your glorious days:—with what bitterness do they denounce them! how do they seek to detract from what the world admires! and if any defenders of your glory yet remain, it is among our ancient antagonists on the field of battle. Soldiers! in my exile I have heard your voice: I have come hither through all perils, despite all obstacles: your general, called to the throne by the choice of the people, and elevated on your bucklers, is restored to you. Come and join him: come and range yourselves under the standards of your chief: he has no existence but in yours: his interest, his honour, his glory, are no other than yours. Victory will march at the *pas de charge*: the eagle, with the national colours, will fly from steeple to steeple, till it lights on the towers of Notre Dame. There you will be able in safety to boast of what you have done: you will be the deliverers of your country. In your old age, surrounded and respected by your fellow-citizens, you will recount your great deeds: you will say with pride—‘And I, too, was part of that army which entered twice into the walls of Vienna, which passed twice through those of Rome, of Berlin, of Madrid, of Moscow, which delivered Paris from the stains that treason had affixed to it. Honour to those brave soldiers, the glory of their country! and shame to the criminal Frenchmen, in what rank soever fortune may have originally placed them, who have combated twenty-five years with the stranger to tear in pieces their country.’”¹

While Napoleon was thus thundering forth proclamations destined to strike again the strong chord of French nationality, to thrill every patriotic heart with emotion, and in their ultimate effects to convulse Europe from end to end, the court of the Tuileries, thunderstruck with the intelligence, vacillated between affected indifference and real apprehension. On the morning of the 3d March, a telegraphic despatch from the prefect of Toulon announced the landing of Napoleon in the gulf of St Juan; and soon after the full details were received. M. Blacas treated the

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1815.

¹ Moniteur,
March 21,
1815. Cap.
i. 135, 137.

85.
Measures
taken at
Paris on the
news being
received.

March 3.

CHAP.
XCII.

1815.

March 6.

¹ Moniteur,
March 6,
1815. Cap. i.
155, 162.
Thib. x. 226,
227. Beauch.
iii. 168, 175.

enterprise with contempt, as the last efforts of a madman. Louis XVIII. judged differently: from the outset he declared that it threatened the most serious consequences. The Duc de Berri, desirous of glory, could not conceal the joy which he felt at an event which he doubted not would add his name to those of the paladins of the monarchy. Three days after the first news had been received, the confidence of the court continued unabated, and exhaled in an indignant proclamation, which proved a feeble counterpoise to the heart-stirring appeals of Napoleon, which were already beginning to convulse France.* As however, the unresisted approach of the Emperor to Grenoble, and the defection of the garrison of that fortress became known, alarm spread through all classes, and even the most devoted adherents of the Bourbons began to tremble for the result. An indescribable confusion pervaded the court; and while the columns of the *Moniteur* were filled with loyal addresses from the marshals, superior officers, and all the constituted authorities, that general quiver, the invariable precursor of revolution, was distinctly visible in all classes. A royal proclamation convoked the two Chambers with all possible expedition: the Comte d'Artois was despatched, in company with the Duc d'Orleans and Marshal Macdonald, to Lyons, the former to secure the adhesion of the Constitutionals, the latter to steady the wavering fidelity of the army. A special messenger was despatched to the Duc d'Angoulême, who, with the duchess, had recently before set off for Bordeaux to celebrate the first anniversary of the raising of the royalist standard in that city, to warn him of the danger,¹ and the necessity of rousing the southern

* "Bonaparte has escaped from the island of Elba, where the imprudent magnanimity of the Allied sovereigns had given him a sovereignty, in return for the desolations which he had brought into their dominions. That man who, when he abdicated his power, retained all his ambition and his fury: that man, covered with the blood of generations, comes at the end of a year, spent seemingly in apathy, to strive to dispute, in the name of his usurpations and his massacres, the legitimate and mild authority of the King of France. At the head of a few hundred Italians and Piedmontese, he has dared again to set his foot on that land which had banished him for ever: he wishes to reopen the wounds, still but half-closed, which he had made, and which the hand of the King is healing every day. A few treasonable attempts, some movements in Italy excited by his insane brother-in-law, inflamed the pride of the cowardly warrior of Fontainebleau. He exposes himself, as he imagines, to the death of a hero; he will only die that of a traitor. France has rejected him: he returns; France will devour him."—*Moniteur*, 6th March 1815.

provinces; the Duc de Bourbon was sent down to La Vendée, to endeavour, by the great name of Condé, to revive the devoted fidelity of the peasants of the Bocage; while the command of an army of reserve, to be formed at Essone and Fontainebleau, destined specially for the defence of the capital, was intrusted to the Duc de Berri.

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Great efforts were made by the court to stimulate a Royalist resistance; but they were only partially successful. In Paris, indeed, the young men of the universities, aware that France owed to the Bourbons its first decided step in the path of freedom, which Napoleon would speedily frustrate, and that the conscription and wars would soon decimate their ranks if the Imperial regime were restored, enrolled themselves with alacrity as volunteers. But the youth of the country, constituting nine-tenths of the physical strength of the nation, hung back. They had a latent dread of the resumption of the national domains by the Royalist government, because they felt that justice demanded their restitution: they identified Napoleon with their cause and that of the Revolution, because he had risen from their ranks; and they were so thoroughly exhausted by previous wars, that neither for one party nor the other could they be induced to make any movement whatever. The great bulk of the influential citizens in towns were favourable to the government of the Restoration, and entertained a serious dread of the resumption of supreme power by Napoleon; but they were few in number, unarmed, and undisciplined. The rural population regarded the Bourbons with undisguised aversion; but they, too, were apathetic, and desired only to remain with their ploughs. The whole real strength of the nation was placed in the army; and it, with the exception of a few regiments of royal guards at Paris, was unanimous, in all but the superior ranks, in favour of the Emperor. It was not difficult to foresee what must be the result of a civil war commenced among a people placed in such circumstances.¹

86.
Ineffectual
attempts to
stimulate a
Royalist
resistance.

¹ Fleury de
Chaboulon, i.
227, 231.
Cap. i. 163,
164. Thib.
x. 227, 228.

The court, however, was strongly supported, in words at least, by the marshals and dignified functionaries of the empire. Marshal Soult, as minister at war, issued a vehement proclamation to the troops, in which he

CHAP.
XCII.

1815.

87.

Soult's and
Ney's pro-
testations of
fidelity.

stigmatised the ex-Emperor's enterprise as the work of an insensate madman, and conjured them by every feeling of honour, patriotism, and fidelity, to abide by the liliated banner.* The columns of the *Moniteur* were loaded for above a fortnight with addresses in the same strain from the municipality of Paris and the other great towns in France, the whole courts of law, universities, and colleges in the kingdom: the marshals and officers in command, whether of armies or garrisons: in fine, the whole authorities and constituted bodies throughout the monarchy. Recollecting what followed, a more melancholy instance of human baseness is not to be found in the annals of mankind. Marshal Ney, in particular, expressed in the loudest terms his indignation at the insane attempt of the Emperor; and such faith did the government put in his fidelity, that they intrusted him with the command of the army assembling at Lons-le-Saulnier to stop the progress of the invaders. On the 7th March, he presented himself at the levee at the Tuileries to take leave of the King, previous to setting out for his command. "Sire," said he, "I will bring back Buonaparte in an iron cage."† "Farewell!" replied the monarch, "I trust to your honour and fidelity." These words, coming from so renowned a warrior and brave a man, made a great impression, and nothing was talked of in Paris for some days but Marshal Ney, his fidelity, and the iron cage.¹

¹ Cap. i. 164.
Beauch. iii.
172, 173.
Moniteur,
March 6 to
18, 1815.

* "Soldiers! That man who so lately abdicated in the face of all Europe an usurped power of which he made so fatal a use—Buonaparte—has descended on the French soil, which he should never have seen again. What does he desire? Civil war. Whom does he seek? Traitors. Where will he find them? Will it be among the soldiers, whom he has deceived and sacrificed a thousand times, in misleading their valour? Will it be in the bosom of their families, whom his bare name fills with a shudder? Buonaparte despises us enough, to think that we are capable of abandoning a legitimate and beloved monarch, to share the lot of a man who is now but an adventurer. He believes it, madman that he is! And his last act of insanity reveals him entirely. Soldiers! The French army is the bravest army in Europe—it will also be the most faithful. Let us rally round the spotless liliated banner at the voice of the father of his people, of the worthy inheritor of the virtues of the great Henry. He has himself traced to you the path which you ought to follow: he has put at your head that prince, the model of French chevaliers, whose happy return to his country has chased the usurper from it, and who now sets forth by his presence to destroy his single and last hope."—LE MARESCHAL DUC DE DALMATIE, *Moniteur* 9th March 1815; and THIBAudeau, x. 228, 229. Contrast this with Soult's proclamation to his soldiers, on March 14, 1814, *Ante*, c. lxxxvii. § 60; and say what is the consistency or fidelity of a revolution.

† The truth of this statement is undoubted: Marshal Ney admitted he had said so at his subsequent trial.—See *Procès de Ney*, 37; and CAPEFIGUE, i. 164.

Mortier received the command in the north of France : Augereau was sent to Normandy : full powers were forwarded to Massena at Toulon : Oudinot was at Marseilles : and every thing announced the most vigorous resistance. But meanwhile the progress of Napoleon was unopposed ; defection after defection succeeded in the army ; and it was unhappily soon apparent that the corps of thirty thousand men, which, by direction of Marshal Soult, had been formed in echelon on the frontier, between Besançon and Lyons, to observe the threatened movements of Murat, was giving the most fatal examples of disaffection. This circumstance was immediately ascribed to the treacherous forethought of the war minister : the clamour daily became louder as the defection of one regiment after another was ascertained ; and at length it arose to such a height, that he was publicly denounced in the Chamber of Deputies as a confederate of Napoleon, and obliged to resign his appointment. His successor, Clarke, began in the right spirit, when, in the order of the day announcing his appointment to the army, he said, "No capitulation can be entered into without infamy ; and, sooner or later, without punishment. To what a deplorable illusion do those abandon themselves who now yield to the voice of a man who is coming to tear asunder France by the hands of Frenchmen, and abandon it a second time to the fire and sword of strangers !" But though a momentary confidence was restored by the energetic conduct of the new war minister, the accounts from the south daily added strength to the melancholy conviction that all was lost. The Comte D'Artois, with the Duc d'Orleans and Marshal Macdonald, had arrived at Lyons, the second city in the kingdom, and the first likely to be exposed to the seduction of Napoleon ; and though they were received with enthusiasm by the higher, more opulent, and educated classes, yet the lower orders hardly attempted to conceal their joy at the return of the tricolor standard. The National Guard, as usual in all serious crises, was divided and irresolute, while the disposition of the soldiers was so manifest, that they refused to obey the orders given for putting the city in a state of defence, and already began to murmur because they had not been led out to join the standard of their beloved Emperor.¹

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XCII.

1815.

88.

Dismissal of
Soult, and
failure of the
Comte
d'Artois at
Lyons.

March 12.

¹ Cap. i. 201,
203. Beauch.
iii. 194, 201.
Thib. x. 230,
231.

CHAP.
XCII.

1815.

89.

Advance of
Napoleon to
Lyons.
March 12.

It was soon apparent from the agitation among the troops, the ardent enthusiasm of the inferior officers, and the universal disregard of the orders of the superior, that the crisis was approaching, and that Napoleon might ere long be expected on the opposite bank of the Rhone. In effect he soon appeared, surrounded by an immense concourse of soldiers, national guards, and peasants, on the road leading from Port-Beauvoisin. The Comte D'Artois, on being informed by the prefect that the case was hopeless, left Lyons, and retired on the road to Paris. Macdonald waited a little longer, but without being able to produce any impression on the troops; and hardly had he left the city, when Napoleon, at the head of his advanced guard, entered the suburb of La Guillotière, and amidst the enthusiastic cheers of an immense crowd, composed for the most part of the lowest class of the inhabitants, was conducted to the palace of the archbishop, where he received the keys of the city. None of the constituted authorities, however, and few of the respectable citizens, attended his levee. This great success at once gave the Emperor the command of the centre of France; emissaries joined him from all quarters, and were despatched by him in all directions; and he openly assumed the direction of the government.¹

¹ Fleury de
Chaboulon, i.
207, 216.

90.

Important
decrees issued
from that
city.
March 13.

Considering himself as now virtually in possession of the supreme authority, he issued three decrees, the first dissolving the Chambers of Peers and of Deputies, enjoining the Deputies to return forthwith to their homes, and convoking the electoral colleges for an extraordinary assembly in the May ensuing; the second banishing anew the whole emigrants returned to France, who had not already obtained letters of amnesty from the imperial or republican governments; the third abolishing titles of honour and nobility, and restoring the whole laws of the Constituent Assembly in that respect, under reservation of those who had obtained titles for national services, and which had been verified at the council. By a fourth decree, not less important than the former, the whole emigrant officers in the army, who had received commissions since 1st April 1814, were struck off the list, and the minister at war was absolutely prohibited from granting them any pay, even for past services. These decrees at

once indicated the spirit of the government of the Hundred Days, which was never departed from during the whole of their continuance. It was no longer the Imperial conqueror, whose will was law, and who was striving to reconstruct the scattered fragments of monarchical power, who was at the head of affairs. It was the Consul of the Revolution who was now in the ascendant ; and the Emperor, constrained by misfortune to court the alliance of those whom, of all men, he most cordially detested, was glad to purchase the passive acquiescence of the nation, by the adoption of principles which he had spent his life in combating.¹

CHAP.
XCII.

1815.

¹ Moniteur, March 21, 1815. Cap. i. 207, 211. Beauch. iii. 205, 215. Fleury de Chaboulon, i. 217, 222.

Meanwhile, Marshal Ney travelled rapidly, on the way to the army, to Auxerre, where he alighted at the hotel of M. Gamotte, the prefect, his brother-in-law, and a warm partisan of Napoleon. Doubts were there, for the first time, instilled into the marshal's mind as to the possibility of upholding the cause of the Bourbons ; and these increased as he advanced nearer to Lyons, and perceived the vehement fermentation which was arising in all the towns and among the troops, on the approach of Napoleon. The Emperor, well aware of the vacillating and irresolute character of his lieutenant every where but on the field of battle, besieged him incessantly with emissaries, who represented the cause of the Bourbons as irrevocably ruined, appealed to his old recollections, and repeated with warmth, "The Emperor has no rancour against you ; he stretches out his arms to receive you ; he agrees with you as to the stranger : there will be no more war : the national principles are about to triumph." These earnest appeals from his old companion in arms proved too strong for the fidelity of the marshal. In charity to so brave an enemy, let the British historian adopt the version of his deplorable and disgraceful treachery which he himself has given : "I had in fact," said he at his trial, "kissed the hand of the King, his Majesty having presented it to me when he wished me a good journey ; the descent of Buonaparte appeared to me so extravagant that I spoke of it with indignation, and made use, in truth, of the expression of the iron cage. In the night of the 13th of March—down to which time I protest my fidelity—I received a proclamation drawn by Napoleon,

91.
Flagrant
treason of
Marshal
Ney.

CHAP.
XCII.

1815.

¹ Cap. i. 211,
215. Procès
de Marshal
Ney, 32.
Beauch. iii.
235, 246.

92.
General
defection of
the army.

which I signed. Before reading it to the troops, I read it to General Bourmont, who was of opinion that it was necessary to join Buonaparte, and that the Bourbons had committed such follies that they could no longer be supported." On the 14th, accordingly, the fatal proclamation was published to the troops, which afterwards cost him his life, and has for ever disgraced his memory.* France was far indeed from the days when the Chevalier Bayard, addressing the Constable de Bourbon with dying voice, when stretched on the wayside in the valley of Aosta, with his eyes fixed on the cross of his sword hilt, said, "Pity not me; pity those who fight against their king, their country, and their oath."¹

Ney himself read the proclamation to his troops, and, as soon as it was over, threw his hat in the air, waved his sabre, and cried, "*Vive l'Empereur!*" The enthusiasm of the soldiers knew no bounds; the privates, drummers, and inferior officers of all the regiments, foot and horse mixed, crowded in ecstasy round the marshal to express their gratitude; caps and sabres were waved aloft in air with frantic joy. But the superior officers kept aloof; and many honourable men, particularly Lecourbe and Beauregard, openly expressed their detestation at a step which, recalling the shameless treachery of the Prætorian Guards in the lower empire, had for ever disgraced the French army. The defection of Ney, which was immediately followed by that of his whole army, proved at once fatal to the royal authority. Not only was there no longer any obstacle whatever to the approach of Napoleon to

* "Officers and soldiers! the cause of the Bourbons is irrevocably lost! The legitimate dynasty which the French nation has adopted is about again to mount the throne; it is to the Emperor Napoleon, our sovereign, that it alone belongs to reign over this beautiful country. What care we whether the noblesse of the Bourbons shall determine again to emigrate or remain amongst us? The sacred cause of liberty and of our independence shall no longer be blasted by their presence. They have sought to wither our military laurels, but they are deceived. Those laurels are the fruit of noble toils, which are for ever engraven in our memories. Soldiers! the time has gone past when mankind were to be governed by stifling their voice; liberty triumphs at last, and Napoleon, our august Emperor, is about to establish it for ever. Let this noble cause henceforth be ours, and that of all Frenchmen; let all the brave men whom I have the honour to command be penetrated with that great truth. Soldiers! I have often led you to victory; now I am about to unite you to that immortal phalanx which Napoleon leads to Paris, and which will arrive there in a few days; and there our hopes and our happiness will be for ever realised. *Vive l'Empereur!*"—*Le Maréchal d'Empire*, PRINCE DE LA MOSKWA, Lons-le-Saulnier, 13th March 1815; *Moniteur*, 21st March 1815; and CAPEFIGUE, i. 215.

Paris, but every possible facility was afforded to it ; for, the troops sent out to oppose him having all joined the Imperial standards, he was advancing at the head of a formidable force to the capital. Nor were affairs less menacing in the northern and eastern provinces. In the former, Lefebvre Desnouettes, having set out from Paris for that purpose, had penetrated into La Fère, corrupted its garrison, and having been checked by the firmness and fidelity of General Abouville, the governor, renewed his attempts on the principal towns of Picardy, the garrisons of which were with difficulty retained in their duty. Meanwhile D'Erlon, at Lille, led out his troops on the road to Paris to join in the conspiracy ; but he was met on the way by Mortier, on his road to take the command in the northern fortresses, sent back to Lille, and arrested. It was by this fortunate event alone that the means of escape were left open to the royal family.¹

¹ Beauch. iii.
205, 223.
Cap. i. 218,
221. Thib.
x. 232, 236.

In this extremity the measures of the government were as vigorous as the exigency of the circumstances required ; but all their efforts were rendered unavailing from the want of any armed force to defend the throne. The Chamber of Deputies met, in pursuance of the summons of the King ; loyal addresses were carried by a vast majority, thanks in profusion voted to the officers and soldiers who, in this trying crisis, had adhered to their duty and their oaths ; the garrisons of Antibes and La Fère were declared to have deserved well of their country ; Marshals Macdonald and Mortier received the warmest applause from both houses ; and the court for a brief season flattered themselves that by these measures, and the influence of the legislature on the public mind, the progress of treason in the army and disaffection in the people would be arrested. But the time was past when a vote of the legislature could make the arms drop from the soldiers' hands ; the Revolution had accustomed them to violent changes in the government ; the Prætorian Guards laughed at votes of the Chambers, and were resolved to have an Emperor of their own selection. The fatal news of the treachery of Marshal Ney, and the defection of his troops, paralysed every heart. It at once demonstrated that the army had determined to place the Emperor on the throne, and that all hope for the Royalists

93.
Conduct of
the court in
the last
extremity.
March 11.

CHAP.
XCII.

1815.

March 16.
¹ Moniteur,
 March 18,
 1815. Cap. i.
 223, 238.
 Hist. Parl.
 xl. 63, 75.

was lost. Driven from every other position, the government endeavoured to stop the movement by frequent and earnest appeals to the charter, which were carried by great majorities in both Chambers, by whom Napoleon was denounced as a public enemy. But what was the charter to an impassioned soldiery, or the denunciation of the conqueror by the legislature to the ruthless veterans who sighed for the restoration of the glory, license, and plunder to which he had accustomed them?¹

94.
 The universal
 defection of
 the troops
 compels the
 King to fly.

March 16.

Every post brought accounts of the desertion of fresh bodies of men, and the universal transport which had seized upon the army. The defection of Lyons, and of Ney in Burgundy, determined the troops assembled as the last reserve at Essonne and Fontainebleau; and the despatches of the Duc de Berri and Marshal Oudinot, who commanded them, announced that they could no longer be relied on. As a last resource, the aged king appealed in vain to the honour and loyalty of the French character. "I have pledged myself," said he, "to the Allied sovereigns for the fidelity of the army in the face of Europe. If Napoleon triumphs, five hundred thousand strangers will immediately inundate France. You who follow at this moment other standards than mine, I see in you nothing but children led astray: abjure your error; come and throw yourselves into the arms of your father, and I pledge my honour that all shall be forgotten." Vain words! The army rejected with contempt the proffered amnesty; the Chamber of Deputies in vain called on the youth of France to imitate those of Prussia, and enrol themselves for the defence of their country. Fruitless was the promise that the approaching campaign should count triple to the troops, and a national recompense be awarded to those who distinguished themselves by their fidelity. All, all was shattered against the treason and revolt of the army.²

March 18.
² Proclamation, March
 18, 1815.
 Moniteur,
 March 18.
 Cap. i.
 223, 255.
 Thib. x. 239,
 241. Beauch.
 iii. 223, 231.
 Hist. Parl.
 xl. 63, 80.

95.
 The King
 retires from
 Paris and
 goes to
 Ghent.

At length the fatal hour arrived. On the 19th March a review of the national and royal guards took place; but few of the former, and still fewer volunteers were to be seen; and after it was over, the latter, instead of taking the road to Fontainebleau, as had been announced, to combat the enemy, defiled by that to Beauvais, evidently to cover the retreat of the royal family. At dinner, the

King announced to the few faithful friends who still adhered to him, that he was about to abandon the Tuileries. Tears fell from every eye ; the mournful prospect of a second exile, of France subjected again to military despotism, vanquished, overrun, and probably partitioned, arose in gloomy prospective to every mind. The King, calm and resigned, addressed a few words of March 19. comfort to each, and after making a few necessary arrangements, signed a proclamation dissolving the Chambers, directing the members forthwith to separate, and to assemble again at such place as the King should appoint. This proclamation, drawn up on the night of the 19th, appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 20th, when Paris was, literally speaking, without a government ; for the King and royal family departed at midnight, taking the road to Beauvais. They travelled rapidly ; by noon on the March 20. 20th they were at Abbeville, and in the evening at Lille, the capital of French Flanders. There they received proofs of fidelity to which, in old France, they had long been strangers. The inhabitants, untouched by the profligacy of the Revolution, crowded round the illustrious exiles with unfeigned enthusiasm, and manifested such sympathy, that the King was induced to establish his March 21 residence there for a few days ; and more than one royal and 22. ordinance bears date from that place. It was soon discovered, however, that the garrison could not be trusted. In vain Marshals Macdonald and Mortier exerted themselves, with an energy worthy of the ancient loyalty and present warlike renown of the French army, to retain the troops in the path of their duty. The contagion was universal ; the intelligence that Napoleon had entered Paris, rendered the excitement irresistible ; the men maintained that it was intended to give them up to the stranger, and loudly declared that they would not imbrue their hands in the blood of their fellow soldiers. Meanwhile, the royal guard and volunteers who had followed the King into French Flanders, worn out by March 25. marching, misled by perfidy, repelled from every fortified ¹ Hist. Parl. gate, melted away or disappeared ;¹ and the unhappy xl. 80, 81. Louis, finding treachery and disaffection thickening on all Cap. i. 243, 249. Beauch. sides around him, was glad to leave Lille, abandon the iii. 249, 255, French territory, and take the road by Ypres to Ghent, 325, 340.

CHAP.
XCII.

1815.

96.
Napoleon
arrives at
Fontain-
bleau, and
reaches
Paris at
night.
¹ Las Cases,
iv. 242.

² Ante, c.
lxxxix. § 26.
³ Moniteur,
March 21,
1815. Hist.
Parl. xl. 86,
87. Cap. i.
251, 253.
Thib. x. 251,
253. Fleury
de Chabou-
lon, i. 239.

97.
Universal
transports
among the
Imperial
party.

where he established his court on the 25th, and remained during the melancholy period of the Hundred Days.

Meanwhile, Napoleon travelled so rapidly from Lyons that his faithful guard could not keep up with his carriage, and on the 19th he reached Fontainebleau. He has himself described the journey from Frejus to Paris as being the happiest period of his life, and it is not surprising that it was so;¹ for it at once restored his fortunes and penetrated his heart: it was prodigal of enthusiasm and redolent of joy; it banished melancholy and revived hope. During that enchanting journey the Emperor seemed to tread on air. Borne aloft on the enthusiasm of the soldiers and the ardour of a portion of the people, he literally flew to empire: the throne of the Bourbons sank before his approach, the glories of the Empire seemed to re-descend upon his brows. Such was the rapture which this marvellous resurrection inspired in his mind, that it was not even for a moment damped by the sight of Fontainebleau, and the spot where he had addressed his faithful Guard.² With almost infantine joy he wandered over the splendid apartments of the palace, the successive scene of his festivity and his wretchedness, and conversed familiarly with his attendants on the beauty of the undulated outline of the forest, and the vast marble basins where the swans exhibited their stately plumage.³

It was not surprising that such all-absorbing transports had seized the mind of the Emperor, for the intelligence from Paris exceeded his most sanguine expectations. Couriers from Lavalette, the postmaster, who had long secretly, and now openly, espoused his cause, announced early on the morning of the 20th, that the King and royal family had left the Tuileries the night before, and that the Emperor's arrival was anxiously expected. He set out, in consequence, at two o'clock in the afternoon, but purposely delayed his progress, so that it was a quarter to nine at night before his carriage entered the court of the Tuileries. This was done in order that the population of the capital, with the majority of whom the Emperor was well aware he was not popular, should not be made acquainted with his arrival, and accordingly they remained in ignorance of it. But the doors of the palace, and the whole inner court of the Carrousel, from the triumphal arch

to the foot of the great staircase, were filled with a crowd of generals, officers, and soldiers, who were in the secret, and who received their beloved chief with the most unbounded transports of joy. The moment that the carriage stopped he was seized by those next the door, borne aloft in their arms, amidst deafening cheers, through a dense and brilliant crowd of epaulettes, hurried literally above the heads of the throng up the great stair into the saloon of reception, where a splendid array of the ladies of the imperial court, adorned with a profusion of violet bouquets, half-concealed in the richest laces, received him with transports, and imprinted fervent kisses on his cheeks, his hands, and even his dress. Never was such a scene witnessed in history. If it was not such a demonstration of national enthusiasm, it was more personally gratifying than the English joy at the return of Charles II. ; for it was not the gratitude of a people for the restoration of a government, but the transports of a party for the return of a man.¹

CHAP.
XCII.

1815.

¹ Cap. i. 253,
254. Thib.
x. 252, 253.

CHAPTER XCIII.

HUNDRED DAYS TO THE CLOSE OF THE BATTLE OF LIGNY.
MARCH 21—JUNE 17, 1815.

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

I.

Great diffi-
culties of
Napoleon.

NAPOLÉON might well have asked on this night, like Voltaire on his last return to Paris, whether they meant to make him die of joy ; and he has without doubt truly described this day as the most delightful of his life. But it was also his last of unmixed satisfaction. After the transports of the first reception were over, and he retired to rest in the imperial apartments of the Tuileries, he had leisure to reflect on the situation in which he was placed, and the means he possessed of maintaining his position on the dizzy pinnacle on which he was again elevated. On landing in the gulf of St Juan, his first words had been, “Voilà le Congrès dissous ;”^{*} but he had too much penetration not to be aware that the effect would be just the reverse : that his return would at once terminate all the divisions, and still all the jealousies which were beginning to alienate the European sovereigns ; and that legions as formidable as those beneath which he had already sunk would ere long inundate his dominions. To meet the forces of coalesced Europe, the means at his disposal were fearfully diminished. Nothing, indeed, could exceed the ardour and enthusiasm of the army and of the imperial functionaries, and he could reckon with certainty on their cordial support ; but the troops under arms did not exceed a hundred thousand, and even if the whole veterans were recalled to his standards, their number would not be more than doubled. The civil *employés* were incapable of forming a corps in the field ; and, amidst all the transports of his journey from St Juan, he

* “Here is the Congress dissolved.”

had perceived, with secret disquietude, that his supporters were chiefly to be found in the very lowest class, and that the more respectable peasants in the country, and citizens in the towns, gazed with silent wonder on his progress. The want of any cordial demonstration of attachment in Paris itself, save among the military, his immediate adherents, and the lowest of the people, had struck him with astonishment. General support from the physical strength of the nation he could not hope for: the recollection of the conscription was too recent, the horror at war too strong, the exhaustion of the military population too complete, to permit any effectual aid; and, strange to say, the mighty conqueror who had been borne to the throne on the shoulders of the army, found his chief embarrassment to arise from the want of military resources.¹

The very next morning showed on what an altered and precarious footing his authority was now placed. The whole troops in Paris, indeed, assembled with tumultuous joy in the court of the Tuileries, enthusiastic cheers burst from them when the Emperor appeared, and they received with rapture the veterans of the Old Guard, who had now been forwarded by post-horses from Lyons, and whose sunburnt visages, worn shoes, and dirty garments, showed the fatigues they had undergone in keeping up with the rapid advance of the Emperor. But when he came to make his appointments for the actual government, a very different disposition manifested itself. The imperial party were all in raptures at Napoleon's return; but very few among them were willing to accept the perilous honour of a situation of responsibility in his government. A secret sense of their shameful tergiversations; a feeling that they were disgraced in the eyes of Europe, by their successive treacheries to the empire and the restoration; a clear perception of the danger with which any prominent situation would be attended under this second revolutionary dynasty, kept almost all the leading men in the outset aloof from his service. Fouché was the first person he sent for:² it was a signal proof to what straits the Emperor was reduced, when he was obliged to commence with the old blood-stained regicide, for whose treachery to himself he had formerly said with

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

¹ Cap. i. 255, 256. Thib. x. 253, 257. Fleury de Chaboulon, i. 259, 260.

2.
His great difficulty in filling up his appointments.

² Fleury de Chab. i. 261, 263. Cap. i. 256, 264. Thib. x. 260, 261.

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

3.
His civil and
military
appoint-
ments.

truth, that the scaffold would have been the appropriate punishment.*

Fouché, aware of his importance as the head of the old Republican party, upon whose temporary alliance with the army the Emperor's power was entirely founded, made his own terms. He at first proposed that he should be made minister of foreign affairs; but Napoleon was desirous that he should return to his old situation as head of the police, to which he at length acceded, from a belief, which the event proved to be well founded, that it would give him the entire command of the interior. Cambacérès was offered the situation of minister of justice; he at once declined it, and was only prevailed on to accept, on the engagement that he should not be called on to take part in any political measures. Even Caulaincourt refused the portfolio of minister of foreign affairs; he was too well aware of the ban under which he would be laid by the potentates of Europe, to undertake its responsibility. M. Molé resolutely declined the same office, and frankly avowed to the Emperor that he thought the drama was concluded, that the dead could not be resuscitated. Napoleon admitted the immense difficulties of his situation, and that they proceeded chiefly from the impracticable character of the party with which he was linked in the civil administration of the empire. As a pledge of his adoption of their principles, he appointed Carnot minister of the interior, with direction of the whole organisation of the national guard; Caulaincourt, by his positive command, was compelled to accept the portfolio of foreign affairs, as Maret, by a similar compulsion, was that of secretary of state; while Davoust, who had been in disgrace during the whole of the Restoration, without difficulty accepted the situation of minister at war.¹

¹ Fleury de Chab. i. 262, 265. Thib. x. 260, 261. Hist. Parl. xl. 87, 88. Cap. i. 259, 261.

4.
General
stupor of the
people over
France.

The same disinclination for office—a most unusual and ominous circumstance in France—was manifested in all the inferior departments of government. The situation of prefect, formerly solicited with such eagerness, and accepted with such gratitude, became now so much the

* “Duc d'Otrante, votre tête doit tomber sur l'échafaud.”—FOUCHE, *Memoirs*, i. 417, 418.

object of aversion, that it was bestowed on persons who would never have been deemed competent, or who had been actually disgraced, under the imperial government. Among the rest M. Frochot, who had been so severely stigmatised by the Emperor for his weakness in the conspiracy of Malet,* reappeared as prefect of the departments of the Rhone. A general stupor prevailed in all the provinces—even those of which the inhabitants had in the first instance manifested the greatest joy at the Emperor's return. The people of the eastern provinces in particular, among whom the revolutionary spirit had always been most ardent, and who, from their localities having been the theatre of war during the last invasion, were most exasperated against the Allies, were thunderstruck by the declaration of the Congress of Vienna of the 13th March, and contemplated with undisguised apprehension a return of the innumerable hordes of Cossacks and Calmucks, from whom they had so recently been delivered, to ravage their fields. Anxiety and disquietude pervaded the whole of France, the result partly of shame, partly of distrust, partly of terror. It was evident that the once colossal power of the Emperor had been irrevocably shaken by his first overthrow, and consequent abdication; confidence at once in his good fortune and his stability of character was at an end; while the efficiency and vigour of his administration was essentially impaired by the alliance, evidently forced, which had taken place between him and the Jacobins, and the admission of many of the most dangerous of their faction into the most important offices of government.¹

¹ Cap. i. 264, 272. Thib. x. 261, 266. Beauch. iii. 371, 384. Fleury de Chab. i. 265, 275.

The march of Napoleon to the capital had been so rapid, that the provinces were in great part ignorant of his having advanced beyond Grenoble, when they were informed of his arrival at Paris. Thus their inhabitants were stupified by this portentous event; and in the southern and western provinces at least, far from being disposed to transfer their allegiance, and trample under feet their oaths, at the beck of the Prætorian Guards of the capital, Guienne, Languedoc, Provence, and Bordeaux, spontaneously took up arms. The Duc d'Angoulême, in the southern provinces, actively commenced the

5.
Efforts of the Duc and Duchesse d'Angoulême to stimulate a Royalist resistance in the south.

* *Ante*, Chap. lxxiv. § 42.

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

March 14.

March 18.

¹ Fleury de
Chab. i. 318,
322. Cap. i.
275, 280.
Thib. x. 269,
275. Beauch.
iii. 384, 400.

6.
Termination
of the civil
war in the
southern
provinces.

organisation and direction of the new levies ; while the presence of the Duchess at Bordeaux, whither she had gone, as already noticed, to be present at the anniversary of the 12th March, when the Royalist standard was first hoisted in that city, roused to the highest pitch the loyal enthusiasm of its inhabitants. Such was the ardour which her character and the chivalrous gallantry of her bearing excited, that fifteen thousand national guards, in that city and its department alone, declared for her ; and even the troops of the line in the adjoining forts of Blaye and Chateau-Trompette, whom she passed in review, seemed to have caught the generous flame, and to incline at least to support her cause. At Toulon the Duc d'Angoulême was most favourably received, both by the regular soldiers and the National Guards ; Marshal Massena, who commanded there, remained firm in his allegiance ; and so unanimous was the desire to resist the imperial government, that the old Republicans stood side by side in the volunteer ranks with the young Royalists. Encouraged by these favourable appearances, a vast but withal skilfully combined plan of operations was concerted. It was agreed that the army of the south, fifteen thousand strong, should march in two divisions, the one by Avignon and Valence, the other by Gap and Grenoble, on Lyons, the common centre of their operations ; while the army of Bordeaux, of equal strength, should move towards La Vendée and Brittany, and awaken the dormant but extinguishable loyalty of the western provinces.¹

How formidable, wide-spread, and well-combined soever this movement undoubtedly was, it was soon shattered against the treason of the army, the magic of the Emperor's name, and the deplorable subjection of the provinces to Paris, which had resulted from the centralisation of the Revolution. Grouchy, whose former zeal for the Bourbons, and recent desertion of their cause, was a sufficient guarantee for his fidelity, was sent with all the troops he could collect at Lyons against the Duc d'Angoulême ; while Clausel, whose republican principles had long kept him in comparative disgrace with the Emperor at the zenith of his fortunes, was despatched with a large body of men, drawn together in the central provinces, against the duchess. The instructions of

both officers were brief and simple—"to put an end at any sacrifice to the civil war." The unbounded sway of the Emperor with the soldiers rendered this a more easy task than had been anticipated. Marching through the central provinces, and distributing every where the Emperor's proclamations, Clausel soon rallied the whole troops of the line there to his standard, and approached the Gironde with so formidable a force that the regular soldiers in the forts of Bordeaux were entirely paralysed. They all declared that, although they would not permit any injury to be done to the duchess, they would not combat against their comrades in arms. In vain, with the spirit of Maria Theresa, she appealed to their loyalty, their oaths, their patriotism, and every feeling which could rouse men of honour; she addressed not the simple and loyal Hungarians, but the corrupted and demoralised French. A mournful silence, interrupted only by isolated demonstrations of attachment, met all her heroic appeals; and with a heart penetrated with grief, she was obliged to leave the city and embark on board a British vessel, which soon conveyed her far from the treason of her country to the more faithful shores of England.¹

The efforts of the Duc d'Angoulême in the southern provinces, though attended in the end with no better success, were, in the outset, of a more serious description. The chief royalist army there, under the command of the duke in person, advanced in the beginning of April from Toulouse, eight thousand strong, composed for the most part of National Guards, towards Valence, and defeated a body of regular soldiers at the bridge of La Drome. Encouraged by the successful result of this action, in which he displayed equal courage and conduct, the prince advanced to Valence and threatened Lyons. This was a very serious matter, and gave much uneasiness to Napoleon. He was no sooner informed of it, by telegraph, than he despatched Grouchy to that city, with full powers to combat or negotiate, but with the most positive instructions, at all hazards, to terminate the civil war. This soon became no difficult matter. While the principal army, which advanced by Valence, was gaining this

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

May 29.
April 3.
¹ Cap. i. 275,
294. Beauch.
iii. 484, 499.
Thib. x. 283,
284. Fleury
de Chab. i.
313, 317.

7.
Progress of
the war near
Lyons.
April 3.

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

¹ Fleury de
Chab. i. 319,
322. Cap. i.
293, 295.
Beauch. iii.
393, 433.

8.
Termination
of the civil
war in the
southern
provinces.
April 4.

success, the second royalist corps, under General Ernouf, occupied Sisteron, and advanced to Gap, on the same road which Napoleon had so recently traversed. But there the men were so moved by the accounts which they received from the peasants of his marvellous progress, and the proclamations from his nervous pen which they saw placarded on the walls, that the regular soldiers all mounted the tricolor cockade, and declared for the cause of Napoleon.¹

By this defection the right flank of the Duc d'Angoulême was uncovered; Grouchy was advancing with a powerful force in front from Lyons; and, at the same time, intelligence arrived that General Gilly, with another body of regular troops, was marching from Nismes upon the Pont St Esprit to cut off his retreat. In these circumstances, to retire became unavoidable; and no sooner had the retrograde movement commenced, than the hatred of the peasants of Dauphiny to the royalist cause, and to their ancient enemies the Provençals, broke out on all sides with such vehemence that the situation of the prince became extremely critical. The obvious danger of a prince of the blood-royal falling into the hands of Napoleon, now induced the duke's generals to urge him in the strongest manner to provide for his individual safety, which he might easily have done by escaping into the adjoining provinces of Piedmont; but he positively refused, with true honour, to separate from his brave companions in arms. A convention was therefore proposed to General Gilly at Pont St Esprit, and at once agreed to, by which it was stipulated that the royal army should lay down its arms and be disbanded, and an entire amnesty be awarded to all persons engaged in the enterprise. Grouchy, however, would not ratify the capitulation, and retained the duke in captivity in defiance of its provisions. The first telegraphic despatch announced the conclusion of the capitulation, and Maret prevailed on Napoleon to ratify it. A few hours after, a second telegraphic despatch declared that Grouchy had not ratified the convention; but Monnier, the under-secretary of state, did not communicate it to the Emperor till the evening, by which time, in consequence of the answer to the first, the prince was already

free. A violent ebullition of the imperial wrath immediately took place ; but it was soon over, and Napoleon was secretly rejoiced in the end that he was saved the necessity of acting with severity towards a descendant of Henry IV. Soon after, the Duc de Bourbon retired from La Vendée, where he had failed in exciting any insurrection: resistance speedily disappeared on all sides; and on the 20th April a hundred guns, discharged from the Invalides, and re-echoed from all the fortresses of France, announced that the civil war was terminated, and the imperial authority every where re-established. To the honour of Napoleon, it must be added, that no executions or bloodshed stained his restoration ; and that, with the exception of a few measures of police against the emigrants and Royal Guards, and the vigorous application of the laws against the Bourbons, no measures of severity marked the commencement of the Hundred Days.¹

The Emperor's authority was now fully established in France ; but it was not in France that the real obstacles to his sovereignty were to be found. It was at Vienna that the enemies alone capable of overturning his empire existed ; and the intelligence of his marvellous successes, by revealing the hitherto unsuspected extent of the sway which he still had over the French army, only made more apparent to them the necessity of the most vigorous measures for his overthrow. The Powers in this crisis acted with a vigour and unanimity worthy of the highest praise, and which in the end proved the salvation of Europe. Calmly measuring with prophetic eye the extent of the danger, they saw, in the elevation of Napoleon to the throne on the bucklers of the troops, the clearest proof that he would infallibly be driven to war. They perceived that a rapacious soldiery, which hailed his return as the restoration of the days of their glory, would never be at rest till again plunged into conquest ; and that, even if the Ethiopian had changed his skin and the leopard his spots, and the Emperor were really desirous of peace, he would inevitably be forced into hostilities by the passions and necessities of his followers. Proceeding on these principles, the declaration of 13th March was not allowed to remain a dead letter ; and on the 25th March a treaty was concluded, which in effect

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

April 5.

¹ Fleury de
Chab. i. 320,
331. Thib.
x. 264, 285.
Cap. i. 293,
305. Beauch.
iii. 483, 521.

9.
Military
treaties
between the
Allies.

CHAP.
XCIII.
1815.
March 25.

¹ See the Treaty in Martens, N. R. ii. 112, 116; and Cap. i. 321. Schoell, Trait. de Paix, xi. 218, 221.

10.
And immense force at their disposal.

revived the treaty of Chaumont, for the preservation of Europe from the renewed dangers which now menaced it. By it the cabinets of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Great Britain “engaged to unite their forces against Buonaparte and his faction, in order to prevent him from again troubling the peace of Europe: they agreed to furnish a hundred and eighty thousand men each for the prosecution of the war, of which a tenth was to be cavalry, and, if necessary, to draw forth their whole military forces of every description.” By a secret treaty concluded on the same day, it was solemnly stipulated that the contracting parties should not lay down their arms till they had effected the complete destruction of Napoleon. The ratifications of this treaty were exchanged on the 25th April; and, within a fortnight after, it was acceded to by all the lesser powers in Europe. The contingent of Bavaria was fixed at sixty thousand men—that of Piedmont at thirty thousand—that of Hanover at twenty-six thousand.¹

The forces at the disposal of the coalition were immense. According to the returns which were laid before the Congress in their secret sittings, of the military resources of the European states banded in this alliance, the number of troops which they could dispose of for active operations, without unduly diminishing the garrison and other services in their respective interiors, amounted to the enormous number of nine hundred and eighty-six thousand men.* Germany, arrayed in the Germanic confederation, was to take a part in this great alliance worthy of its vast strength and ancient renown;

* The composition of the principal armies of this immense host was as follows:—

I. Army of Upper Rhine, Schwartzenberg, viz.—				
Austrians,	-	-	-	150,000
Bavarians,	-	-	-	65,000
Württemberg,	-	-	-	25,000
Baden,	-	-	-	16,000
Hessians, &c.,	-	-	-	8,000
				264,000
II. Army of Lower Rhine, Blucher, Prussians,				
Saxons, &c.,	-	-	-	155,000
III. Army of Flanders—British, Belgians, Hanoverians, Brunswickers,				
	-	-	-	155,000
IV. Russian Reserve, Barclay de Tolly,				
	-	-	-	168,000
				743,000

--PLOTHO, iv. *Appendix*, p. 62; and CAPEFIGUE, i. 330, 331.

and the forces of its lesser powers, animated by experienced wrongs and inspired by recent victory, promised to be of a very different mould from the old and unwilling contingents of the empire. After making every reasonable deduction for the sick, absent, and non-efficient, it was calculated that six hundred thousand effective men might be brought to bear on the Rhine, the Alps, and the Flemish frontier. In a secret meeting, held at Vienna on the 31st March, it was resolved forthwith to form three great armies, by which active operations were to be commenced as soon as possible: the first of two hundred and sixty-five thousand, chiefly Austrians and Bavarians, on the Upper Rhine, under Schwarzenberg; the second, of a hundred and fifty-five thousand Prussians, on the Lower Rhine, under Blucher; the third, of an equal number of English, Hanoverians, and Belgians, in the Low Countries. It was resolved that military operations should be commenced early in June; before which time it was hoped that the great Russian army, a hundred and seventy thousand strong, could be on the Upper Rhine from Poland, and, entering France by Strasburg and Besançon, form a reserve to the invading armies from the eastward. In addition to these great armies, lesser diversions, but still of no inconsiderable importance, were to be attempted on the side of Switzerland, which had declared for the Allies, and the Pyrenees; the former by a united force of Austrians, British, and Piedmontese, the latter by the Spaniards and Portuguese; while England was also to send succours to organise the formidable strength of La Vendée in the cause of loyalty and religion.¹

March 31.

¹ Conferences, 623. Mem. and Protocol, March 31, 1815. Schoell, Congr. de Vienne, iv. 170. Cap. i. 328, 331; and Schoell, Trait. de Paix, xi. 213, 215.

From these arrangements, as well as the geographical position of the country which they occupied, it was evident that the British troops in Flanders would be first exposed to the shock of war; while at the same time it was of the highest importance to the general cause not to lose the vantage-ground which they there possessed, or to permit, as had so often previously been done, the advanced post of Europe against France to be converted into that of France against Europe. The preparations of the newly elected monarchy of Belgium could not be expected to be in any state of forwardness; the

11. Preparations of the British government for the war.

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

April 6.

Hanoverian levies were not as yet raised ; and the flower of the British army was in Canada, or scattered over the American coast. In these circumstances, every thing depended on the vigour of the British cabinet and the unanimity of the British people ; and neither was wanting on the occasion. On the 6th April, a message from the Prince Regent formally announced to both Houses of Parliament the events which had recently occurred in France, in direct contravention of the treaty of Paris, the communications entered into with his allies on the subject, and the necessity of augmenting the military forces by sea and land. The address, which, as usual, was an echo of the message, was moved in the House of Lords by the Earl of Liverpool, and in the Commons by Lord Castlereagh ; and so strongly were the members of both houses impressed with the awful nature of the crisis, and the necessity of making a vigorous effort in the outset to meet it, that the address in the House of Peers was carried without a dissenting voice, and in the Commons by a majority of one hundred and eighty-three, the numbers being two hundred and twenty to thirty-seven. Lord Castlereagh put the matter upon its true footing in the concluding sentence of his speech : "Some may think that an armed peace would be preferable to a state of war ; but the danger must be fairly looked at : and, knowing that good faith was opposite to the system of the party to be treated with—knowing that the rule of his conduct was self-interest, regardless of every other consideration, whatever decision you come to must rest on the principle of power, and not on that of reliance upon the man."¹

¹ Parl. Deb.
xxx. 356,
371 ; and
418, 463.
Ann. Reg.
1815, 12, 13.

12.
Finances and
budget of
Great
Britain.
April 19.

Nor were the financial, naval, and military preparations of Great Britain on a scale incommensurate to the magnitude of the undertaking to which she was committed, and the engagements she had contracted with foreign powers. On the 19th April, the House of Commons, by a majority of one hundred and twenty-five,—the numbers being one hundred and eighty-three to fifty-eight,—renewed the property-tax, producing now fully £15,000,000 annually, for another year—a decisive proof that they were in earnest in supporting the government. The whole war taxes were continued, and supplies to an unprecedented

extent voted; those for the navy being £18,000,000, while those for the army rose to the enormous amount of £24,000,000, besides £3,800,000 for the ordnance. With these large sums, two hundred and seven thousand regular soldiers were maintained, besides eighty thousand militia, and three hundred and forty thousand local militia—in all, six hundred and fifty thousand men in arms; and the ships of the line placed in commission were fifty-eight. The subsidies to foreign powers amounted to no less than £11,000,000; and the whole expenditure of the year, when all was paid, reached the enormous sum of £110,000,000. To provide for this expenditure, the permanent and war taxes were calculated to produce £80,000,000, and loans to the amount of £39,000,000 were raised for the service of Great Britain and Ireland; but these sums, great as they were, proved unequal to the charges of the year. When the whole expenditure of the war was wound up at the close of the year, the unfunded or floating debt had risen to £48,725,000; the capital of the funded debt was £792,000,000; the annual charge of it was £42,000,000; but of that sum no less than £12,968,000 was for the support of the sinking fund. If that noble establishment had been kept up, even at that diminished amount, by maintaining the indirect taxes, set apart by the wisdom of former times for its support, it would have paid off the whole national debt by the year 1845; and the nation, from the effects of the long peace, purchased by the sacrifices of the war, would have discharged the whole burdens contracted during its continuance.¹*

¹ Finance
Accounts,
1816. Ann.
Reg. 1816.
435. Parl.
Deb. xxxi.
795, 814.
James, vi.
App. No. 23.

In addition to these immense military and naval preparations, the subsidies which Great Britain became bound to advance to foreign powers were so considerable, that it might truly be said that the whole military force of Europe was this year arrayed in English pay against France. Such was the exhaustion of the finances of the greater powers, from the unparalleled efforts they had made during the two preceding years, that they were wholly unable to put their armies in motion without this pecuniary assistance. By a treaty concluded at Vienna,

13.
Subsidies
granted to
foreign
powers by
England.

* See Appendix, A, Chap. xciii., where the details, finances, and public debt of the empire, in the year 1815, are fully given.

CHAP
XCIII.

1815.

April 30.

¹ See the Treaty, April 30, 1815. Martens, N. R. ii. 121; and Ann. Reg. 1815, 377. State Papers.

14.
Napoleon's difficulties.

² Jom. iv. 614, 615. Cap. i. 358. Thib. x. 364.

between Great Britain. Austria, Russia, and Prussia, the former of these powers agreed to furnish to the three latter a subsidy of £5,000,000, to be paid by monthly instalments to the ministers of these three powers in equal proportions; and if peace was concluded within the year, they were to receive after its signature, Russia four months', and Austria and Prussia two months' subsidy each, to provide for the return of the troops to their own dominions. Sweden obtained £521,000, Hanover £206,000, the lesser German powers £1,724,000: the stipulated sums paid to the greater powers required to be enlarged; and the total sum paid by Great Britain in the year to foreign powers exceeded £11,000,000.¹*

Nothing which vigour and activity could do was wanting on the part of Napoleon, to provide the means of defence against this prodigious phalanx of enemies, ready to overwhelm him. But such was the exhaustion of the military strength of the country in consequence of his preceding wars, and the apathy or despair of the people from the effects of long-continued disaster, that all his efforts were unable to raise any thing like an adequate force. The arsenals and fortresses were nearly empty, especially on the eastern frontier, which was most exposed to danger, from the exhaustion of the preceding campaign or the abstractions of the Allied armies; twelve thousand pieces of cannon in fifty-three fortresses had been ceded by the treaties at Paris; and the regular troops in arms did not amount to a hundred thousand men. The treasury, after the first six weeks' expenditure, was exhausted; arrears of taxes were almost irrecoverable; the national credit was equal to nothing.² To provide forces for withstanding

* The subsidies paid were:—

Austria,	-	-	-	-	£1,796,220
Russia,	-	-	-	-	3,241,919
Prussia,	-	-	-	-	2,382,823
Hanover,	-	-	-	-	206,590
Spain,	-	-	-	-	147,333
Portugal,	-	-	-	-	100,000
Sweden,	-	-	-	-	521,061
Italy and Netherlands,	-	-	-	-	78,152
Minor Powers,	-	-	-	-	1,724,000
Miscellaneous,	-	-	-	-	837,134

Total, £11,035,232

—*Finance Accounts*, 1816; *Ann. Reg.* 1816, 430.

the hostility of combined Europe, with such means and in such a country, was indeed a herculean task ; but the genius of Napoleon was equal to the undertaking, and but for the surpassing firmness of Wellington, and the gallantry of the British troops, his efforts would in all probability have proved successful.

CHAP.
XCIII.
1815.

His first step was to restore to the old regiments, with their eagles, their numbers ennobled by so many heroic deeds, and so unwisely taken away by the late government. These precious memorials of past glory were given back to the troops with every pomp and circumstance likely to re-animate the spirits of the soldiers. The skeletons of three additional battalions were next organised for each regiment ; and to provide men to fill their ranks, the whole retired veterans were by proclamation invited to join their respective corps. Two additional squadrons were in like manner added to each regiment of cavalry ; and thirty new battalions of artillery were raised, chiefly from the sailors of Cherbourg, Brest, and Toulon. Forty battalions, in twenty regiments, were added to the Young Guard, entirely drawn from veterans who had served six campaigns ; and two hundred battalions of the National Guard were organised, to take the duty of the garrison towns and interior, and thus permit the whole regular troops to be moved to the frontier. By these means the Emperor calculated that the effective strength of the army, by the 1st June, would be raised to four hundred thousand men, of which one-half might be disposable for active operations in the field ; and by the 1st September his sanguine temperament led him to hope that he would have five hundred battalions of troops of the line and fifty-two of the Guards, mustering six hundred thousand combatants, besides sixty thousand admirable horse.¹

15.
His military
preparations.

¹ Jom. iv.
614, 615, and
Camp. de
1815, 139.
Cap. i. 358,
359. Thib.
x. 364, 365.

To provide arms and the muniments of war for so prodigious a multitude out of the exhausted arsenals, and with the worn-out finances of the empire, was a still more difficult matter ; but the ardent genius of the Emperor, appealing to the generous feelings, and rousing the national spirit of the people, was here, too, attended with surprising success. The whole workmen in all the manufactories of arms in the country were doubled :

16.
His efforts to
obtain arms
and replenish
the arsenals,
and forces
which he
collected for
the cam-
paign.

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

¹ Jom.
Camp. de
1815, 138,
139. Ar-
chives de la
Guerre; and
Cap. i. 359,
360. Thib.
x. 365, 366.

17.
Fouché,
Carnot, and
other Repub-
licans: their
great influ-
ence.

twenty thousand muskets a-month were thus obtained; but this supply, great as it was, was far from meeting the exigencies of the moment. To procure additional stores of warlike implements, bodies of permanent workmen were established in many places, in imitation of the corps of workmen on the plains of Grenelle, during the Revolution. The old arms were called in by proclamation, repaired, and served out to the young soldiers: the founderies were every where set to work with the utmost vigour to replenish the arsenals with guns: purchases of horses, to a vast extent, were made in all the fairs of the empire: all those of the gendarmerie were taken, and requisitions made from the peasants of draught horses for the use of the artillery and waggon trains. Great part of these purchases were not, as may well be believed, paid for in ready money: orders on the treasury at distant dates were lavishly given, and, under military government, could not be refused; and they constituted no small part of the embarrassment of the government of the second Restoration. But, in the mean time, the things were got. The arming of the troops and equipment of the guns went on with extraordinary rapidity; and an order on the different communes to furnish each a certain portion of the clothing of a battalion, soon provided them with uniforms. Before the beginning of June, two hundred and twenty thousand men, almost all veteran soldiers, were completely armed, equipped, clothed, and in readiness to take the field; an astonishing proof of the patriotic spirit of the people, and the enthusiastic ardour with which, in the last struggle of their country, the old soldiers had thrown themselves into the breach.¹

In military arrangements, the power of the Emperor was unfettered, and his genius and prodigious activity appeared in their highest lustre; but in civil administration he was entirely in the hands of Fouché and the Republicans; and they steadily pursued one object, which was to provide a counterpoise to his power in the revival of the republican spirit of the people. Carnot, entirely engrossed in the herculean task of reorganising the national guard, left the direction of civil affairs entirely to that astute Jacobin; and he made such skilful

use of his unbounded power and influence as head of the police, that the old regicides and Jacobins were every where called up again into activity, and the election for the approaching Chamber of Deputies, summoned for the Champ de Mars, had almost entirely fallen into their hands. His language in this respect was undisguised to his Republican allies. "If that man there," said he, "shall attempt to curb the Jacobin ideas, we will overturn him at once and for ever." Napoleon knew and deeply resented this conduct; but his precarious situation compelled him to dissemble, and continue Fouché in power; for he had no hold of the nation, apart from the army, but through the medium of the Republicans. Meanwhile, such was the address of the Emperor and the charm of his conversation, that he succeeded in detaching many of the leading men of talent in Paris, who had formerly taken a prominent part against him, from the Royalist cause. Among the rest, M. Sismondi, the great historian, and Benjamin Constant, the able supporter of constitutional freedom, were entirely won over to his side; and they were intrusted with the arduous duty of aiding in the formation of a constitution. One of the most extraordinary of the many extraordinary gifts with which this wonderful man was endowed, was the power he possessed of subduing the minds of men, and the faculty he had acquired of dazzling penetration the most acute, and winning over hostile prepossessions the most confirmed, by the mere magic of his fascinating conversation.¹

¹ Cap. i. 384,
385. Constant, Cent
Jours, 23, 41.

Benjamin Constant has left a precious account of a conversation which Napoleon had with him at this period, which bears every mark of truth. "The nation," said the Emperor, "has rested twelve years from political agitation: for a year it has reposed from war: that double rest has made it now feel the need of activity. It now wishes, or thinks it wishes, a Tribune and popular assemblies: it did not always do so: it threw itself at my feet when I arrived at the government. You must recollect it was so, for you were in opposition. Where was your support, where your strength? Nowhere. I took less power than they wished to give me. At present all is changed: the taste for constitutions, debates, harangues,

18.
Constant's
account of
Napoleon's
conversation
with him at
this time.

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

has returned. Nevertheless it is only the noisy minority who wish it: be assured of that. The people wish only for me; you have seen them pressing on my footsteps, descending from their mountains to see me. Nothing was wanting but a signal from me to make them fall on the Royalists and nobles. But I will never be a king of the Jacquerie. If it is possible to govern with a constitution, all in good time: I desire nothing better; though it is not so easy as some suppose. I wished the empire of the world; and, to obtain it, boundless authority was necessary: possibly, to govern France alone, a constitution may be practicable. It is still a problem; but I am willing to try it. I wished the empire of the world—who would not have done so in my place?—the world invited me to rule: princes and people vied with each other, crouching beneath my sceptre. Give me your ideas: public discussions, free elections, responsible ministers, the liberty of the press: I have no objections to them—I am the man of the people; if they really wish for liberty, I will give it them; I was never an oppressor from inclination. I had great designs; fate willed it otherwise. I am no longer a conqueror, I cannot be so. I have now but one mission, that of restoring France, and giving it such institutions as are fit for it. But I do not wish to awaken false expectations; a long and difficult struggle awaits us; I have need of the support of the nation; I am willing to give it as much freedom as it can enjoy without relapsing into anarchy. I am growing old; I have need of repose; the rest of a constitutional king may suit me, and still more my son.”¹

¹ Constant, *Cent Jours*, 59; and *Jom. Camp. de 1815*, 84, 86.

19.
Financial
measures of
Napoleon.

The financial difficulties of the Hundred Days were singularly lessened by the comparatively prosperous condition in which the treasury was found, from the diminished expenditure and increased economy of the Bourbon government. Nearly forty millions of francs (£1,600,000) had been left by Louis XVIII. in the treasury, or in the balance due by the receivers-general; and an equal sum fell in shortly after, at stated periods, from the sale of national wood, which they had previously made, but for which the bills were not yet all due. It was from these resources that the first and indispensable expenses of the Imperial government were defrayed, but they were soon

exhausted by the vast purchases for the army ; and, as the capitalists had no confidence whatever in the dynasty of Napoleon, it became a very difficult matter to say how the treasury was to be replenished. As a last resource, the sinking fund, hitherto invariably respected, was offered as a security to a company of bankers, and at first refused ; but their acceptance was at length purchased by such exorbitant interest, that the four millions of francs to which it amounted annually, produced only thirty-one millions of francs : in other words, the government borrowed at twelve per cent. The bills due by the receivers-general were discounted at the rate of seventeen and eighteen per cent ; and by these extraordinary resources, and forestalling the ordinary revenue, eighty millions of francs (£3,200,000) were raised in April and May, which kept the treasury afloat till the battle of Waterloo terminated at once the difficulties and the political existence of Napoleon.¹

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

¹ Hist. Parl.
xl. 87, 124.
Cap. i. 377,
380.

The task of framing a constitution, in a country so long habituated to that species of manufacture as France had been since the Revolution, proved much less difficult than that of restoring the finances. The commission to whom this duty had been devolved, presided over by Benjamin Constant, consisted chiefly of the old patriots of 1789 who had survived the Revolution : and it was governed, accordingly, by the visionary ideas of perfectibility which had characterised that dreamy period. The first draft of a constitution which they submitted to the Emperor, was accordingly so democratic, that even in his present necessities it was at once rejected by him : "I will never," said he, "subscribe to such conditions: I have the army on my side, and after what it has done on the 20th March, it will know how to defend France and its Emperor." Defeated in this attempt, the Liberal party in the commission drew up another constitution : and this one, styled the "additional act," the work of Constant and Regnaud de St Angely, was little different from the Charter of Louis XVIII. Two Chambers, one of Peers and one of Commons, were established on nearly the same footing as they had been by the former government. But three particulars in this new constitution were very remarkable, and demonstrated how much more clearly Napoleon saw the exigencies of the times,

20.
Formation of
a constitu-
tion.

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

April 25.
1 Acte Ad-
ditionel,
Moniteur,
April 25,
1815. Cap.
i. 384, 396.
Hist. Parl.
xl. 129.

21.
Violent
opposition
which it
excites.

April 28.

and the necessity of bulwarks to power, than the Bourbons had done. 1. The peerage was declared to be *hereditary*—not for life only: a provision which at once announced the intention of reviving a feudal nobility. 2. The punishment of confiscation of property, a penalty so well known in the dark ages, abolished by the Charter, was restored in cases of high treason. 3. The family of the Bourbons was for ever proscribed, and even the power of recalling them denied to the people. It was in vain to disguise, that while these articles indicated in the strongest manner an intention to prevent a second restoration of the royal family, they pointed not less unequivocally to the practical abrogation of the power of self-government, and the construction of a strong monarchy for the family of the Emperor; and thus the publication of the "*Acte Additionel*" on the 25th April, excited unbounded opposition in both the parties which now divided the nation, and left the Emperor in reality no support but in the soldiers of the army.¹

The public feeling appeared in an article which was inserted in the *Censeur Européen*, the very existence of which demonstrated how the Emperor's authority had declined from the palmy days of the empire. It was entitled, "On the influence of the mustache on the reason, and the necessity of the sabre in government." "What," exclaimed the fearless writer, "is glory? Has a lion, which makes all the animals of the surrounding country tremble, glory? Has a miserable people, which knows not how to govern itself, and is to its neighbours an object only of terror and hatred, glory? If glory is the sole attribute of men who have done good to their race, where is the glory of a conquering people?" All classes, though for different reasons, exclaimed against the *Acte Additionel*. Some complained that the initiative to framing laws was, contrary to all the principles of a free government, taken from the Chamber of Deputies: others that the rule of clubs and popular societies was not re-established as in 1793. The Royalists were discontented at the abolition of feudal distinctions; the Democrats, at the restoration of the titles which had been created during the empire; and a still larger number complained of

it as a cruel deception of the people, that a constitution was promulgated by the sole authority of the Emperor, before the military and civil electors, convoked from all parts of the empire for the Champ de Mai, had enjoyed an opportunity of considering it. So vehement did the clamour become, especially among the Republicans, that Carnot, who felt himself compromised with his party by the *Acte Additionel*, wrote to the Emperor, strongly representing that dissatisfaction was universal, civil war on the point of breaking out; and that it was indispensable to publish a decree, forthwith authorising the Chambers to modify the constitution in the next session, and to submit the modification to the primary assemblies of the people. But Napoleon replied, "With you, Carnot, I have no need of disguise: you are a strong-headed man, with sagacious intellect. Let us deliver France, and after that we will arrange every thing. Let us not sow the seeds of discord, when the closest union is required to save the country." To the honour of Carnot it must be added, that from that moment he made no opposition to a dictatorial power being for the time placed in the hands of the Emperor.¹

CHAP.
XCIII.
1815.

April 29.

¹ J. m.
Camp. de
1815, 111,
112. Carnot
to Napoleon,
April 29,
1815. Cap. i.
395, 396.

While Napoleon was vainly striving to blend into one united whole the fervent passions and wounded interests of revolutionary France, Caulaincourt was strenuously endeavouring to open up a diplomatic intercourse with the Allied powers. In this vital matter every thing depended on the success or failure of the first step; for if the Allies had consented to a negotiation of any kind with the Emperor, it would have been a recognition of his authority, and a virtual revocation of the decree of the 13th March. But all his efforts were ineffectual: and what is remarkable, the Emperor Alexander, who in 1814 had most warmly espoused his cause, was now the most decided against him. "We can have no peace," he said with energy to a secret agent who approached him with overtures from the Emperor Napoleon; "it is a mortal duel betwixt us—he has broken his word. I am freed from my engagement: Europe requires an example." "Europe," said Metternich, in an official article from Vienna in the *European Observer*, "has declared war against Buonaparte. France can, and ought to prove to

22.
Ineffectual
attempt of
the French
diplomacy to
open a nego-
tiation with
the Allied
powers.

April 26.

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

April 1.

¹ Cap. i.
304, 313.
Thib. x. 286,
295. Napo-
leon to the
Allied
sovereigns,
April 1,
1815. Cap. i.
311.

Europe, that it knows its dignity sufficiently not to submit to the domination of one man. The French nation is powerful and free: its power and freedom are essential to the equilibrium of Europe. France has but to deliver itself from its oppressor, and return to the principles on which the social order reposes, to be in peace with Europe." The spirit of Germany was hourly more and more exalted by those declarations: already the excitement was as wide-spread, the enthusiasm as universal, as when the Allied armies first approached the Rhine. Thus all attempts of Caulaincourt to open a negotiation, all the declarations of Napoleon that he aspired now only to be the first in peace, proved ineffectual. His insincerity was universally known: the necessities of his situation universally appreciated. Napoleon, on the 1st April, addressed a circular to all the sovereigns, commencing in the usual style from one sovereign to another, "Sir, my brother," and concluding with the strongest protestations of his desire to commence a new strife in the arena of peace.* But all his efforts were ineffectual: none of M. Caulaincourt's couriers could reach their destined point: one was stopped at Kehl, another at Mayence, and a third near Turin.¹ At the same time Caulaincourt was informed, in a confidential communication with Baron Vincent, that it was no longer possible to make the Allied sovereigns swerve from their determination, or separate them from each other.

Murat was the first who raised the standard of war. Anxious to deprive Napoleon of such an ally, and pre-

* "The true nature of the events which have taken place, must now be fully known to your Majesty. They were the result of an irresistible power; the work of the unanimous wish of a great nation, which knows its duties and its rights. The dynasty which force had imposed upon the country was not suited to it; the Bourbons were neither associated with its sentiments nor its habits. France required to separate from them. France has recalled a liberator; the inducement which had led me to the greatest of sacrifices no longer existed. I returned; and from the moment when I landed on the shore, the love of my people has borne me to the capital. The first wish of my heart is to repay so much affection by an honourable tranquillity: my sweetest hope is to render the re-establishment of the Imperial throne a guarantee for the peace of Europe. Enough of glory has successively adorned the standards of all nations; the vicissitudes of fate have sufficiently often made great reverses follow the most glorious success. A nobler arena is now opened to sovereigns; I will be the first to descend into it. After having exhibited to the world the spectacle of great combating, it will be now sweeter to exhibit henceforth no other rivalry but that of the advantages of peace—no other strife but that of the felicity of nations."—*NAPOLEON to the Allied Sovereigns, April 1, 1815; Moniteur, April 2; and CAPEFIGUE; i. 311, 312.*

vent the distraction of its forces by an Italian war, when it was necessary to combine every effort for the overthrow of Napoleon, Austria had offered to guarantee to him the disputed marches, and procure for him the recognition of all the sovereigns at Vienna of his right to the throne of Naples, if he would declare for the Allies. But at that very moment the brave but infatuated King, transported by the intelligence of the success of Napoleon in France, and deeming the time had arrived when he might strike with effect for the independence of Italy and the throne of that beautiful peninsula, suddenly commenced hostilities. On the 31st March he crossed the Po, and published from Rimini a sonorous proclamation, in which he called on the Italians to unite with him in asserting their independence. "The moment," said he, "is arrived, when great destinies are about to be accomplished: Providence at length has called us to become an independent people. From the summit of the Alps to the extremity of Sicily one cry is heard—the independence of Italy." But although these sentiments found a responsive echo in the general breast, yet the event soon proved on what a sandy foundation all projects for Italian independence were rested, which were based on the military operations of the Italian people.¹

Although the King of Naples was at the head of a well-disciplined, splendidly equipped, and beautifully dressed army of fifty thousand men, of whom thirty thousand advanced to the Po, the remainder being left in reserve in his own dominions, yet was his overthrow so easily effected, that it could hardly be called a war. The Neapolitan troops, in the first instance, gained a slight success; but the Austrian generals, Bellegarde, Bianchi, and Frimont, quickly united their forces and attacked Murat at Tolentino. The Neapolitans fled like a flock of sheep at the first fire; a second engagement completed their rout, and dispersed the fugitives through the Roman States, from whence, in the utmost terror, they regained their own frontier. Murat himself, wholly deserted by his troops, was glad to embark at Naples for Toulon, which he reached in safety; while his queen, Caroline, escaped on board an English merchant vessel, and was conveyed to Austria. Thus fell the throne of

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

23.

Murat commences hostilities, and advances to the Po.

March 31.

¹ Bot. iv. 417. Thib. x. 319, 320. Cap. ii. 15, 16.

24.

His defeat and overthrow at Tolentino, and restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of Naples.

April 9 and 11.

April 30.

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

¹ Thib. x.
319, 322.
Cap. ii. 15,
17. Bot. iv.
417, 419.

the Buonaparte family in Naples; and thus was accomplished the prophecy of Napoleon, who, when he heard of his commencing hostilities, said that his brother-in-law would ruin himself by taking up arms in 1815, as in 1814 he had ruined him by failing to do so. Nothing now remained to prevent the Sicilian family from resuming their ancient throne of Naples, which they accordingly immediately did, and were recognised by all Europe.¹

25.
Louis
XVIII. at
Ghent.
Chateaubriand and
his writings.

While these important events were in progress in Europe, the monarch whose fall had occasioned them all, and around whom this terrible conflagration was breaking forth, was living in seclusion, but yet not forgotten, at Ghent. Louis XVIII. maintained in that ancient city the state of a sovereign; M. Blacas, General Clarke, and Chateaubriand, had followed him in his exile, and kept up diplomatic communications with foreign courts, the ambassadors of all of whom, still in his exile, waited on the dethroned monarch. Ambition and intrigue were not wanting; Ghent had its saloons and coteries as well as either Paris or Vienna. But what contributed most of all to give the court there consideration in the eyes of Europe, was the nomination of M. Lally Tollendal and Viscount Chateaubriand to the offices of ministers of state; and the powerful declamations which they soon began to launch out against the usurper of the French throne. The Duke of Wellington visited the King in his seclusion, and he had the satisfaction of hearing from the Duke the assurance, that "he regarded the restoration of the Bourbons as essential to the equilibrium of Europe." Clarke furnished valuable information in regard to the situation and strength of the French army when he left the ministry of war at Paris; while Chateaubriand, in the *Moniteur de Gand*, which appeared daily, combated the proclamations and state papers of Napoleon, published in the *Moniteur* at Paris, with such ability, and inveighed with such impassioned eloquence against his government, that he contributed in a powerful manner to uphold the spirit of the European alliance.²

² Cap. ii. 41,
63. Thib. x.
311, 315.

La Vendée had in the first instance disappointed the expectations of the Duc de Bourbon and the French

Royalists; but the course of events in that province proved in the end eminently serviceable to the restoration of the monarchy. The Duc de Bourbon, who had first been sent there, was personally unknown to the Vendéans; his name had never figured in their heart-stirring annals, and thus he failed to rouse them to exertion. But in the beginning of May, when the Marquis Louis de La Rochejaquelein made his appearance on their coast, the glorious name at once produced a general insurrection among them; and an animated proclamation from him drew thousands to the royal standard. M. de Suzannet was soon at the head of four thousand armed peasants in the Bocage; M. d'Autichamp raised a still larger number; M. de Sapineau was placed at the head of a third, five thousand strong; and Auguste de La Rochejaquelein led a fourth. The presence of twenty thousand armed men in the thickets of La Vendée occasioned no small uneasiness to the Emperor; and he despatched Generals Lamarque and Travot, to command a formidable army of twenty thousand men for their subjugation, while Fouché opened in secret a negotiation with their chiefs. The astute minister, foreseeing a second restoration, and having already commenced measures to secure his ascendancy in the event of it, despatched two able emissaries—M. de Malarbic and De la Berandière—with instructions, by the most conclusive of all arguments, to put an end to the civil war. "Why," said he, "should the Vendéans go to war? French blood will soon flow in sufficient streams without theirs being mingled with it. Let them wait a month or two, and all will be over. Above all, let not the English interfere in the business; for they come only to profit by our divisions. Conclude an armistice till the inevitable restoration. La Vendée is but an incident in the great European war about to break out in the plains of Belgium. The contest between the Blues and the Whites is henceforth without an object." By these means, which were entirely in accordance with his whole policy throughout the Hundred Days, Fouché hoped to have the merit, in the eyes of Napoleon, of terminating the contest in La Vendée; in those of the Bourbons,¹ of detaching twenty thousand men from his standard at the most critical period of his

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

26.

War in La
Vendée.

May 1.

¹ Cap. ii.
79, 81.
Fouché,
Mem. ii. 332,
333. Beauch.
iv. 157, 163.

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

27.
Measures of
Napoleon to
crush it.

fortunes ; and of the nation, of closing the frightful gulf of civil war.

These deep-laid schemes proved entirely successful ; and their favourable result was much aided by the divisions which prevailed among the Vendéan chiefs themselves. Louis de La Rochejaquelein aspired to the supreme command ; and his great name and family influence, as well as the support of the English government, with which he was in close communication, fully entitled him to the honour. But his pretensions were contested by the other chiefs, particularly D'Autichamp and Suzannet ; not from any distrust of his qualifications for the lead, but from a secret and not unnatural jealousy of external influence, and above all of British co-operation. Thus there was no cordial union among them, and this appeared in the very outset of operations ; for La Rochejaquelein, buoyant with courage, and ardent to enrol his name in the records of Vendéan fame, was desirous at once to commence hostilities ; while the other chiefs were inclined to follow Fouché's advice, and wait, at least, till the war broke out on the frontier, before they declared themselves. La Rochejaquelein, however, who deemed his honour pledged to follow out his engagements with the British government, and whose heroic spirit could brook no delay, took up arms, and moved to the sea-coast, to cover the disembarkation of military stores and equipments which had commenced from the British vessels. He was followed by Lamarque at the head of eight thousand men, and several inconsiderable actions took place, in which the Vendéans displayed their accustomed valour, and reached in safety Croix de Vie on the shore, where the English vessels were lying, and the disembarkation was continued under their protection.¹

May 29.

¹ Beauch. iv.
180, 182.
Cap. ii. 81,
82. Thib. x.
367, 368.

28.
Defeat of the
Vendéans,
and pacifica-
tion of La
Vendée.

But there the effect of Fouché's ambiguous counsels appeared : D'Autichamp, Suzannet, and Sapineau, determined not to enter into communication with the British, withdrew with their divisions and disbanded their men. Thus La Rochejaquelein, with his division, five thousand strong, was left alone to withstand eight thousand veteran soldiers who pressed upon him. Yet with this handful of men he was not discouraged, but with a heart swelling with indignation at the desertion of his country-

men, and the glorious recollections of his race, marched to meet the enemy. He sought only what he soon found—a glorious death. The Vendéans fought with their accustomed gallantry; but the loss of their chief spread a fatal discouragement among their ranks: the Marquis de La Rochejaquelein, impelled by a generous ardour, spurred his charger out of the line, reached an eminence close to the enemy's line to reconnoitre a body of men which he saw approaching, belonging to the troops of the Marais, fell mortally wounded, breathed a short prayer for his King and country, and expired. Auguste de La Rochejaquelein soon after was severely wounded; and the Vendéans, despairing of the combat after the loss of their chiefs, gave way and dispersed. This action terminated the war in La Vendée, as the other leaders had all gone into Fouché's plan of awaiting the issue of events. But the heroic Louis de La Rochejaquelein did not die in vain: his firmness retained at a critical time twenty thousand veteran French in the western provinces, when the campaign was just beginning in Flanders; and who can say what effect they might have had if thrown into the scale when the beam quivered on the field of Waterloo?¹

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

¹ Beauch. iv.
180, 185.
Thib. x. 367,
368. Cap. ii.
81, 82.

Meanwhile Napoleon was engaged with the meeting of the deputies at Paris, and the preparation of the great fête of the Champ de Mai, on a scale of magnificence which might at once captivate the people of the capital, and recall to the Republican party the popular demonstrations of the Revolution. On the 30th April a decree was passed, convoking the electoral colleges for the nomination of deputies to the Chamber of Representatives, and ordaining that the deputies named should repair to Paris, to be present at the assembly of the Champ de Mai, and to form the Chamber, to which the "*Acte Additionnel*" should be submitted. The election of deputies was every where a vain formality, and did not afford the smallest indication of the real state of the public mind. In most of the departments not a tenth part of the qualified persons came forward to the vote; in some, particularly those of Bouches du Rhone and La Vendée, the deputies were appointed by five electors; in twenty-nine no election whatever took place. The respectable

29.

Composition
of the
Chamber of
Deputies.

April 30.

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

citizens every where kept aloof from contests conducted under the auspices of Fouché, Carnot, and the violent republicans; the men of property deemed it unnecessary to mix themselves up with an ephemeral legislature, or to make any effort for a cause which would soon be determined by the bayonets of the Allies. Thus the elections fell into the hands, as in the commencement of the Revolution, of a mere knot of noisy orators, ignorant declaimers, and salaried agents of administration; and a legislature was returned, in which the great majority was composed of needy unprincipled adventurers, base worn-out hacks of the police, and furious Jacobins, whose presumption as usual was equalled only by their ignorance. Nothing could be expected but rashness and imbecility from such a legislature, and yet it was to be called to duties requiring above all others the soundest judgment, the purest patriotism, the most exalted courage.¹

¹ Cap. i. 397,
398. Thib. x.
332, 333.
Fouché,
Mém. ii. 337,
338. Montg.
viii. 170, 171.

30.
The Champ
de Mai at
Paris.

Aware, however, how strongly the French are influenced by theatrical representations, no pains were spared by the Emperor to render the approaching ceremony in the Champ de Mai as imposing as possible. For above a month workmen had been engaged in preparing for it; the most glowing descriptions of its probable magnificence had been frequently given in the public journals, and the preparations were on a scale which recalled the famous assembly on the same spot on the 14th July 1790.* A cardinal, two archbishops, and several bishops, presided over the religious part of the ceremony: the Emperor appeared, surrounded by his chamberlains, his pages, and all the pomp of the empire; the marshals, the generals, the great officers of state were there, attended by brilliant staffs and retinues, and all the circumstance of military and civil splendour: four thousand electors, chosen by the electoral colleges throughout France were assembled, deputations from all the regiments around Paris attended, and the presence of thirty thousand National Guards of the metropolis added to the imposing aspect of the ceremony. The day was fine: above two hundred thousand spectators crowded round the benches, arranged in the form of an amphitheatre, where the

* *Ante*, c. vi. § 46.

persons appointed to take part in the ceremony were stationed; and the commencement of the votes of the electors in their primary assemblies, when announced, showed that the "*Acte Additionel*" was approved by an immense majority of the electors; the numbers being fifteen hundred thousand to five thousand.* It is a striking proof of the vanity of all such references to the popular voice, that of the immense number of votes which appeared in the majority, certainly not one in a thousand knew what they were voting about; and not one in ten thousand, if they had, would, in all probability, have approved of the new constitution.¹

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

¹ Thib. x.
332, 335.
Cap. ii. 94,
99. Montg.
viii. 167, 169.
Moniteur,
June 2, 1815.

Napoleon addressed the electors in these words: "Gentlemen, and deputies of the army and navy in the Champ de Mai—Emperor, consul, soldier, I owe every thing to the people. In prosperity, in adversity, in the field of battle, in council, on the throne, in exile, France has been the only object of my thoughts and actions. Like the King of Athens, I have sacrificed myself for the people, in the hope of seeing the promise realised, of thereby securing to France its natural frontiers, its honours, its rights. Indignation at beholding those sacred rights, the fruit of twenty-five years of victory, disregarded or lost; the cry of withered honour, the wishes of the nation, have brought me back to the throne which is dear to me, because it is the palladium of the independence, the rights, and the honour of the French people. Frenchmen! in traversing amid the public joy the different provinces of the empire to arrive in my capital, I trusted I could reckon on a long peace; nations are bound by treaties concluded by their governments, whatever they may be. My whole thoughts were then turned to the means of founding our liberty on a constitution resting on the wishes and interests of the people. Therefore it is that I have convoked the assembly of the Champ de Mai. I soon learned, however, that the princes who resist all

31.

Napoleon's
speech on the
occasion.

* The numbers were:—

	Ayes.	Noes.
64 Departments, .	1,288,357	4207
Army, . . .	222,100	320
Navy, . . .	22,000	275
Total, . . .	1,532,457	4802

—*Moniteur*, 2d June 1815; and THIBAUDEAU, x. 334

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

popular rights, and disregard the wishes and interests of so many nations, were resolved on war. They intend to enlarge the kingdom of the Low Countries, by giving it for a barrier all our frontier places in the north, and to reconcile all their differences by sharing among them Lorraine and Alsace. We must prepare for war! Frenchmen! you are about to return into your departments. Tell your fellow-citizens that the circumstances are perilous; but that with the aid of union, energy, and perseverance, we shall emerge victorious out of this struggle of a great people against its oppressors; that future generations will severely scrutinise our conduct; that a nation has lost all when it has lost its independence. Tell them that the stranger kings whom I have placed on their thrones, or who owe to me the preservation of their crowns, and who in the days of my prosperity have courted my alliance and that of the French people, now direct all their strokes against my person. Did I not know it is against our country they are aimed, I would sacrifice myself to their hatred. But my wishes, my rights, are those of the people: my prosperity, my honour, my glory, can be no other than the prosperity, the honour, and the glory of France." At the conclusion of these eloquent words, Napoleon took the oath on the Gospels to observe the constitution, which was immediately taken by the officers of state, marshals, deputies, and soldiers present; and the eagles were, at the same time, delivered with extraordinary pomp to the regiments.¹

¹ Moniteur,
June 2, 1815.
Cap. ii. 99.
Thib. x.
337, 338.

32.
Great divi-
sion of
opinion at
Paris.

But in the midst of all this seeming unanimity and enthusiasm, opinion at Paris was extremely divided; a formidable opposition against the Emperor was organised in the bosom of the Chamber of Deputies, and some of his principal ministers were engaged in such secret correspondence with his enemies, that he was on the point of sending them to the scaffold. From the very outset of their sittings, the hostility of the Chamber of Deputies to the Emperor was unequivocally evinced, and mutual ill-humour appeared on both sides. When the choice of M. Lanjuinais, the old Girondist, to be president, was announced to the Emperor, instead of his brother Lucien, whom he had designed for that dignity, his first impulse was to refuse to confirm the appointment, and he

coldly answered, "I will return my answer by one of my chamberlains." When this expression was repeated, it raised a perfect storm in the Chambers. To return an answer by a chamberlain was a direct insult, it was said, to the national representatives. The Emperor, however, was obliged to submit, and all the influence of the court failed in the appointment of the vice-presidents; M. Flaugergues, Dupont de l'Eure, Lafayette, and Grenier, all known for their extreme popular principles, were elected. Napoleon opened the Chamber of Deputies in person; his speech, though abundantly liberal, was coldly received. A great review of the forty-eight battalions of the National Guard was still more unsatisfactory; hardly any cries of *Vive l'Empereur* were heard from the ranks, and it was followed by a procession of the *fédérés* of the suburbs, so hideous and disorderly, that it recalled the worst days of the Revolution, and excited no small apprehensions in the minds of those around the Emperor. Every thing announced that the reign of lawyers, adventurers, and democracy was returning in the Chambers, and with it the ascendancy of Jacobins, massacre, and revolution in the metropolis.¹

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

June 6.

¹ Hist. Parl.
xl. 147, 152.
Cap. ii. 103,
111. Thib. x.
352, 354.
Fouché, ii.
340, 341.

The spirit of the Chamber of Peers named by the Emperor was abundantly pliant; but that of the Deputies, daily more refractory, soon became so hostile, that the Emperor, to avoid the pain of witnessing its absurdities, was glad of an excuse for setting out for the army. A proposition to declare him the "saviour of the country," was almost unanimously rejected; in the midst of the most pressing external dangers, their attention was exclusively occupied with the means of propagating liberal principles, and rendering more popular the constitution. The "*Acte Additionel*," so recently sworn to with such solemnity, was already ridiculed as an unworthy compromise, which would not for a moment bear the lights of the age. Every thing showed that the Chambers contemplated the speedy seizure of the supreme power. The answer of Napoleon to their address on the eve of his departure evinced the disquietude which filled his mind, and contained the words of true patriotic wisdom—"This night," said he, "I shall set out for the army; the movements of the enemy's corps render my presence

33.

Napoleon sets
out for the
army.

June 7.

June 4.

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¹ Hist. Parl.
xl. 164, 165.34.
Formation of
a government
for the
Emperor's
absence.² Cap. ii. 134.
Fouché, ii.
329, 330.
Thib. x. 364,
366.

indispensable. During my absence I shall learn with pleasure that a committee of the chamber is meditating on the constitution. The constitution is our rallying point; it should be the sole polar star in moments of storm. Every political discussion which should tend, directly or indirectly, to diminish the confidence which we feel in our institutions, would be a misfortune for the state: we should find ourselves in the midst of shoals without rudder or compass. The crisis in which we are engaged is a terrible one: let us not imitate the Greeks of the lower empire, who, pressed on all sides by barbarians, rendered themselves the laughing-stock of posterity, by occupying themselves with abstract discussions at the moment that the battering-ram was thundering at their gates.”¹

To direct public affairs during his absence, the Emperor appointed a provisional government, consisting of fourteen persons, viz. his brother Joseph, who was the president, and Lucien; his eight ministers, Cambacérès, Davoust, Caulaincourt, Fouché, Carnot, Gaudin, Mollière, and Decrès; with Regnaud de St Angely, Boulay de la Meurthe, Desermont, and Merlin, who were admitted into the Council, though not holding office, on account of their talents for public speaking, and the consideration they enjoyed with the popular party, so powerful in the representative Chamber. In truth, however, Carnot and Fouché were the only persons in this large number who were really in communication with influential parties in the state; so that the power was substantially in their hands. And though both old regicides and republicans, they were very far indeed from being united now in regard to the course which should be pursued, and both had a cordial hatred and utter distrust of each other. Fouché regarded Carnot as an obstinate old mule, who would any day sacrifice himself and his party to the maintenance of a principle: Carnot, with more justice, looked on Fouché as a supple villain, who had never any principle at all, but was at all times ready to elevate himself on the shoulders of whatever party appeared likely to gain the ascendant. Yet was his influence such that Napoleon, though well aware of his treachery, did not venture to dismiss him from the ministry.² Shortly

before his departure, a secret despatch from Metternich to the minister of police came to the knowledge of the Emperor; and the messenger who conveyed it, in his terror, revealed various important details of the correspondence.

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Napoleon was no sooner informed of it, than he ordered Fouché to be sent for, openly charged him before the Council with being a traitor, and declared he would have him shot next morning. But Carnot calmly replied, "You have it in your power to shoot Fouché, but to-morrow, at the hour he suffers, your power is annihilated." "How so?" cried Napoleon. "Yes, Sire," said Carnot, "this is not a time for dissembling. The men of the Revolution only allow you to reign, because they believe that you will respect their liberties. If you destroy Fouché, whom they regard as one of their most powerful guarantees, to-morrow you will no longer have a shadow of power." The Council agreed with Carnot; the idea of a military execution was abandoned; and Fouché was not a man to let any legal evidence of his secret treasons exist, so that the affair blew over. Napoleon's suspicions, however, were not allayed, although he could not convict his minister in legal form, and his last words to him before leaving Paris were these:—"Like all persons who are ready to die, we have nothing to conceal from each other: if I fall, the patriots fall with me; you will play your game ill if you betray me. With me, all you Revolutionists will perish under the Bourbons; I am your last dictator: reflect on that." It is a striking proof of the ascendancy which guilt acquires in revolutions, that this arch-intriguer, who, while directing the ministry of the interior under Napoleon, was on the one hand secretly corresponding, by means of his agents, with Metternich and the Allies, and on the other with D'Autichamp and the Vendéans, and who was at the same time rousing into fearful activity the old Jacobin party over all France, though known to be a traitor by all parties, could not be dispensed with by any.¹

35.
The Emperor discovers Fouché's treachery, but is obliged to dissemble and keep him in power.

¹ Fouché, ii. 329, 331. Cap. ii. 154, 156. Thib. x. 364, 369.

Napoleon's plan of the campaign was in a great measure based on the fortifications of Paris, which, by the indefatigable efforts of General Haxo and the engineers, had by this time acquired a considerable degree of consis-

36.
Napoleon's plan of the campaign.

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tency. No one knew better than the Emperor the value of such central fortifications ; he felt that it was mainly owing to their want, that all his efforts had proved abortive in the preceding year. Under Haxo's able direction, the whole heights to the north of Paris, from Montmartre to Chaumont, were covered with redoubts ; the canal of Ourcq was finished so as to cover the plain between La Villette and St Denis, and the latter town was retrenched, and covered with the inundation of the Rouillon. To the west of Montmartre, which formed the most elevated point of the line, was erected a series of intrenchments, which extended as far as the Seine at Clichy ; and the space at the other extremity, between Vincennes and Charenton, was also strengthened with redoubts. These works were nearly completed, and armed with seven hundred pieces of cannon : they rendered Paris almost impregnable, even to the greatest force, on the whole northern semicircle. But on the south it was still undefended, and there, accordingly, it was approached by the English and Prussian armies. Lyons also was strongly fortified with field intrenchments, mounting three hundred and fifty guns. Relying on the strength of these two important points to retard any decisive success on the part of the Allies, Napoleon resolved to act with the main body of his forces, which amounted to a hundred and thirty thousand men, with three hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, on the offensive in Flanders, near the frontiers of which that formidable force was already collected between the Meuse and the Sambre.¹

¹ Jom.
Camp. de
1815, 137,
139. Nap.
Camp. of
Waterloo, ix.
Book of
Mem. 49, 52.

37.
And disposi-
tion of his
troops.

Other lesser armies were stationed at other points on the frontier, with instructions to retire if out-numbered, and retard the enemy as much as possible ; Suchet commanded two divisions, numbering twenty-two thousand combatants, on the frontiers of Savoy ; a small corps of observation of ten thousand was placed at Befort, under Lecourbe ; while Rapp with three divisions, amounting to seventeen thousand, was stationed at Alsace, with his headquarters at Strasburg. Twenty thousand men were detained in distant and necessary inactivity on the frontiers of La Vendée and Brittany ; while small divisions were at Marseilles, Toulouse, and Bordeaux, to overawe

the Royalists in these cities. In all, not more than a hundred thousand men were arrayed in these lesser corps to resist not less than four hundred thousand enemies, preparing to invade France on the south and east ; but they were merely regarded as the nucleus of so many armies, numbering three times the present amount of combatants, which might be assembled before the distant Allied hosts could be brought together. Every thing depended on the grand army under the immediate command of Napoleon.¹ *

Wellington on his side had profoundly meditated on the plan of the approaching campaign, which, in common with all the Allied generals, he conceived would be one of invasion on their part. After much reflection, he had resolved to invade France direct from Flanders, between the Marne and the Oise ; but in order to conceal this design from the enemy, he suggested that the Austrians and Russians should invade, in the first instance, by Befort and Huningen, in order to attract the enemy's principal forces to that quarter ; and as soon as this was done, the British and Prussians united were to march direct upon Paris from Mons and Namur. He had eighty thousand effective men under his orders ; Blucher a hundred and ten thousand : but of the large host clustered round the British standards, a considerable part were raw Belgian and Hanoverian levies, upon whom little reliance could be placed ; and for the actual shock of war, Wellington could only depend on the British and King's German Legion, about forty-six thousand strong, and the old Hanoverians and Brunswickers, about ten thousand more. The British army was far from being equal, in composition or discipline, to that which crossed the Pyrenees, a large part of which was absent in Canada ; and their place was supplied by a number of second battalions, and troops which had never seen service or acted together. But several of the most distinguished Peninsular regiments were there ; the foot and horse Guards appeared in splendid array ; twelve thousand noble cavalry seemed confident against the world in arms ; a hundred and eighty guns, admirably equipped, were in the field ; Picton, Hill, Clinton, Kempt, Cole, Pack, and many of

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¹ Vict. et
Conq. xxiv.
159, 160.
Vaud. iii.
110. Jom.
iv. 624, and
Camp. de
1815, 139.
141. Cap. ii.
123, 124.
Nap. Camp.
of Waterloo,
49, 52.

38.

Wellington's
plan of the
campaign.

* See Appendix B, Chap. xciii.

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

¹ Cap. ii.
149, 155.
Mem. of
Allied sove-
reigns.
Ploto, iv.
247, 254.
Die Grosse
Chron. iii. 37.

his old comrades, surrounded Wellington; the spirit of the army was at the highest point, and the troops possessed that confidence in themselves and their leader, which is the most important element toward military success. Blucher's army was of a less heterogeneous character; his troops, almost all veterans of one nation, and inspired with the strongest hatred against the French, were filled with a well-founded confidence in themselves and their gallant commander; and having acted together in two previous campaigns, they had acquired that most valuable quality in soldiers, a thorough knowledge of their duties, and a firm reliance, founded on experience, on each other.¹

39.
Napoleon's
plan of oper-
ations.

Napoleon's plan of operations was suggested by the necessities of his situation, and the vast advantages likely to be gained by a decisive success in the outset. He determined to collect all his forces into one mass, and, boldly interposing between the British and Prussian armies, separate them from each other, and strike with the utmost vigour, first on the right hand and then on the left. It was thus that, with a force not exceeding sixty thousand men, he had so long kept at bay the united armies of Blucher and Schwartzenberg, two hundred thousand strong, on the plains of Champagne: and what might not be expected, when he had a hundred and thirty thousand admirable troops, all veterans, and animated with the highest spirit, and not more than a hundred and ninety thousand in the field to combat? "The force of the two armies," says Napoleon, "could not be estimated by a mere comparison of the numbers; because the Allied army was composed of troops more or less efficient, so that *one Englishman might be counted for one Frenchman*, but *two Dutchmen, Prussians, or soldiers of the Confederation*, were required to make up one Frenchman: and their armies were under the command of two different generals, and formed of nations divided not less by their sentiments than their interests."²

² Nap. Book
ix. 60, 61.

Soult was, on the 2d June, appointed major-general of the army, and he immediately took the command, and issued a proclamation,* which strangely contrasted with

* "All the efforts of an impious league can no longer separate the interests of the great people and of the hero whose brilliant triumphs have attracted the

that which, not three months before, he had thundered forth as minister-at-war to the Bourbons.* It left no further doubt that he had played false to the former government, when he held the office of minister-at-war, and had purposely placed in the Emperor's way the regiments most likely to revolt. Napoleon left Paris at one o'clock in the morning of the 12th, breakfasted at Soissons, slept at Laon, and arrived at Avesnes on the 13th. He there found his army all concentrated between the Sambre and Philipville, and the returns on the evening of the 14th gave a hundred and twenty-two thousand four hundred men present, under arms.† The camp was placed behind small hills, just a league from the frontier, in such a situation as to be screened from the enemy's view: and it contained three hundred and fifty pieces of cannon.‡ The arrival of the Emperor raised the spirits of the soldiers, already elevated by their great strength, to the very highest pitch; and the following proclamation was on the same evening issued to the troops:—"Soldiers! This is the anniversary of Marengo and of Friedland. Then, as after Austerlitz and Wagram, we were too generous; we gave credit to the oaths and protestations of princes whom we allowed to remain on their thrones. Now, however, coalesced among themselves, they aim at the independence and the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust of aggressions. Are we not then the same men? Soldiers! at Jena, when fighting against those same Prussians, now so arrogant, you were as one to two: at Montmirail as one to three. Let those among you who have been in England recite the story of their prison-ships, and the evils they have suffered in them. The Saxons, Belgians, and Hanoverians, the soldiers of the Rhenish confederacy,

admiration of the universe. It is at the moment when the national will manifests itself with such energy, that cries of war are heard, and foreign armies advance to our frontiers. What are the hopes of this new coalition? Does it wish to extirpate France from the rank of nations, to plunge twenty-eight millions of Frenchmen into a degrading servitude? The struggle in which we are engaged is not above the genius of Napoleon, nor beyond our strength. Soldiers! Napoleon guides our steps—we fight for the independence of our beautiful country—we are invincible!"—See *NAPOLÉON'S Memoirs*, Book ix. pp. 65, 66.

* *Ante*, Chap. xcii. § 87.

† See Appendix C, Chap. xciii.

‡ Clausewitz estimates Napoleon's force, at the opening of the campaign, at 129,000 men, Wellington's 99,000, and Blücher's 115,000.—See *CLAUSEWITZ*, viii. 27; and *Die Grosse Chronik*, iii. 135. It is probable some abatement must be made from all these numbers, for stragglers, non-effective, &c.

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40.

Disposition
and force of
the French
troops, and
Napoleon's
address to
them.

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

¹ Nap. Book
ix. 70, 73,
74. Vict. et
Conq. xxiv.
161, 162.
Jom. iv. 625.
Die Grosse
Chron. iii.
128, 129.

groan at the thought of being obliged to lend their arms to the cause of princes, enemies of justice and of the rights of nations. They know that the coalition is insatiable: that after having devoured twelve millions of Poles, twelve millions of Italians, six millions of Belgians, a million of Saxons, it will also devour the lesser states of Germany. Fools that they are! a moment of prosperity blinds them. If they enter France, they will find in it their tomb! Soldiers! we have forced marches to make, battles to fight, perils to encounter: but with constancy the victory will be ours; the rights, the honours of the country will be reconquered. For every Frenchman who has a heart, the moment has arrived to conquer or die.”¹

41.
Positions and
views of
Wellington
and Blucher.

Wellington and Blucher, at this critical period, were well informed from the outset in regard to the positions and strength of the enemy: but they were impressed with the idea that the war was to be on their part an offensive one, and that Napoleon would never venture to attack on their own ground two armies, each of strength little inferior to his own. Should he do so, they relied upon secret information to be forwarded to them from Paris of his intended movements; and Wellington fully expected that if any attack was made on him, it would be on his right by the road of Mons and Ath, for which reason the whole British cavalry had been quartered in that direction.* Even so far back as in May preceding, the general orders he issued to his troops proved that he expected to be attacked, if an invasion was attempted, on the right.† The most rigorous measures had been

* That Wellington had such secret information is evident, if proof were requisite, from his despatch, 16th May 1815, where he gives a detail of the French army, which corresponds exactly with that given by Gourgaud.—See GURW. xii. 394. That letter concludes with these words:—“From all that I have heard lately, I should doubt the regiments of infantry being all of twelve hundred men; I am certain, however, that *the person who gives me the intelligence* believes they are so.” And in his letter to Prince Wrede, inclosing the accounts of the army, on the same day, he says, “Je vous écris deux mots pour vous envoyer les résultats de l’intelligence que *je viens de recevoir de France d’une source assez certaine.*” And to the Prince Schwartzberg on the same day—“Je vous envoie un mémoire tiré *des intelligences* que j’ai reçues aujourd’hui des forces de l’ennemi, et de leurs dispositions. Le gros de l’armée est sur cette frontière, et j’ai *des nouvelles certaines* qu’on a pris des arrangements pour faire arriver la Garde à Maubeuge dans l’espace de 48 heures.”—WELLINGTON to SCHWARTZENBERG, 16th May 1815; GURWOOD, xii. 397. And in his letter of 13th June he says—“*I have accounts from Paris of the 10th*, on which day Napoleon was still there; and I judge, from his speech to the Legislature, that his departure was not likely to be immediate.”—GURWOOD, xii. 462.

† WELLINGTON to LORD HILL, 30th April 1815; GURWOOD.

adopted by the French to prevent any intelligence crossing the frontier ; but, notwithstanding that, Wellington knew on the 6th June that Napoleon was expected to be in Laon on that day, and that the number of troops collected in Maubeuge and the adjoining towns was immense ; and he had long been aware that arrangements had been made to bring the Imperial Guard from Paris to Maubeuge in forty-eight hours. In consequence, orders had been given to declare Antwerp, Ypres, Tournay, Ath, Mons, and Ghent in a state of siege, the moment that the enemy crossed the frontier.* On the 10th he received intelligence, which proved to be premature, that the Emperor had arrived in Maubeuge on the preceding day : † but still he did not deem it advisable to take any steps to concentrate his army ; and when the French troops, above a hundred and twenty thousand strong, who were perfectly concentrated in a square of four miles, crossed the frontier in front of Fleurus on the morning of the 15th, Wellington's men yet lay in their cantonments, from the Scheldt to Brussels and Nivelles ; and Blucher's, scattered over the frontier from thence to Liege—a distance for both armies of seventy-five miles broad, by from twenty to twenty-five deep—were only on their march to the point of rendezvous.¹

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June 6.

June 7.

June 10.

¹ Grolman
Damitz, i.
103. Gurw.
xii. 449, 457,
and 470.
Clausewitz,
viii. 34, 35.

It was not, however, from the want of authentic accounts of the approach of the enemy that the troops were not concentrated. On the 12th June information was communicated to the Duke that the French army was assembled on the frontier, and prepared to attack.‡ The arrival of the Imperial Guard at Avesnes on the 13th, was made known to the Prussian

42.
Delay in col-
lecting the
English
army.

* “ All accounts from the frontier agree in the notice of a collection of troops about Maubeuge. Buonaparte was expected to be at Laon on the 6th ; and there were, on all parts of the road between Paris and the frontier, extraordinary preparations for the movement of troops in carriages. The number of the latter collected is immense in some of the towns.”—WELLINGTON to SIR H. HARDINGE, *Brussels*, 10th June 1815 ; GURWOOD, xii. 449.

† “ I have received intelligence that Buonaparte arrived at Maubeuge yesterday, and I believe he has gone along the frontier towards Lille.”—WELLINGTON to SIR H. HARDINGE, *Brussels*, 10th June 1815 ; GURWOOD, xii. 457.

‡ “ On the 12th June Lieutenant-Colonel Von Wessel, whose regiment, the 1st Hussars of the King's German Legion, formed an extensive line of outposts in front of Tournay, reported to Major-General Sir H. Vivian, to whose brigade the regiment belonged, that he had ascertained from information on which he could rely, that the French army had assembled on the frontier, and was prepared to attack. Vivian repaired to the outposts to verify this information, and learned that the French army was concentrating, and that if the Allies did not

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commander on the 14th, by a drummer of that corps who had deserted.* During the night of the 13th, the bright light in the heavens to the west revealed to the vigilant outposts of Ziethen the concentration of a vast force in their front, which circumstance they at once reported; and on the 14th, intelligence was received of the arrival of Napoleon and Jerome at headquarters, which was immediately forwarded both to Blucher and Wellington. Late on the evening of the same day, Ziethen reported to Blucher that "strong columns of all arms were assembling in his front, and that every thing portended an attack on the following morning."† Upon receipt of this intelligence, the Prussian marshal immediately despatched orders for the concentration of his army at Ligny, which were despatched at eleven at night. Still no steps were taken by Wellington to collect his troops; and so ignorant were those nearest the enemy of the danger which was impending, that, on the morning of the 15th, when the firing began near Charleroi, the Belgian videttes, who formed the advanced posts, conceived it was the Prussian artillery practice, to which they had become accustomed.‡

advance, they would attack. Vivian communicated what he had seen and heard to Lord Hill and the Earl of Uxbridge, by whom the circumstances were made known to the Duke of Wellington. His Grace, however, did not, for the reason before stated, think the proper moment had arrived for making any alteration in the disposition of his forces."—SIBORNE, ii. 48, 49.

* "Blucher avait déjà ordonné la réunion de ses corps sur un premier avis, reçu par un tambour de la Vieille Garde, qui avait déserté la veille (12me.) La présence de la Vieille Garde était un indice certain et suffisant pour donner l'éveil aux ennemis."—JOMINI, *Campagne de 1815*, p. 146.

† "During the night of the 13th, the light reflected upon the sky by the fires of the French bivouacs, did not escape the vigilant observation of Ziethen's outposts, whence it was communicated to the rear that these fires appeared to be in the direction of Beaumont, and in the vicinity of Solre-sur-Sambre, and on the following day, (14th) *intelligence was obtained of the arrival of Napoleon and his brother Jerome*. Ziethen immediately communicated this information to Prince Blucher and to the Duke of Wellington. Nothing, however, was as yet positively known concerning the real point of concentration, the probable strength of the enemy, or his intended offensive movements. Late in the day, Ziethen ascertained through his outposts, that strong French corps, composed of all arms, were assembling in his front, and that every thing portended an attack on the following morning. Ziethen's communication of this intelligence reached Blucher between nine and ten o'clock on the night of the 14th; and simultaneous orders were despatched at eleven o'clock for the march of Bulow's corps d'armée from Liege to Hannut, of Pirch's from Namur to Sombreffe, and of Thielman from Ciney to Namur; while Ziethen was directed to await the advance of the enemy in his position upon the Sambre; and in the event of his being attacked by superior numbers and compelled to retire, to effect his retreat as slowly as circumstances would permit, in the direction of Fleurus, so as to afford sufficient time for the concentration of the other three corps in the rear of the latter point."—SIBORNE, ii. 54.

‡ "Early on the morning of the 15th, the Belgian troops which rested upon the Charleroi road, *were lying quietly in their cantonments, perfectly unconscious of the advance of the French army*, when they heard a brisk cannonade

Ziethen immediately warned Blucher of the invasion ; but, by a strange oversight, he did not send similar information to the Duke of Wellington, who only heard of it from the Prince of Orange at half-past four P.M. at Brussels, instead of half-past ten or eleven A.M., when it might have reached him, had it been sent direct. So little did he expect an immediate attack, that on that very day, (the 15th,) and at the moment when Napoleon with his vast and concentrated army was already far advanced across the frontier into the space between the British and Prussian cantonments, he was so far from making any immediate preparations for a defensive struggle, that he was calmly writing a long letter to the Emperor Alexander at Brussels, detailing his plan for a general *offensive* campaign against Napoleon from the Alps to the sea, in which the first attack was to be made by the Russians and Austrians ; while he anticipated no greater task, in the outset at least, for the British and Prussian armies, than to reduce the strongholds of Maubeuge and Givet immediately in their front.* And for that very night, the 15th, he had himself accepted, and allowed his staff-generals at Brussels to accept, invitations to a great ball at the Duchess of Richmond's in that city, which they all attended.¹

¹ See Wellington to Emperor Alexander, June 15, 1815. Gurw. xii. 470, 472. Gleig's Waterloo.

Although, however, both the British and Prussian armies were still in cantonments over an extent, for the two together, of seventy-five miles broad by twenty-five in depth, yet every arrangement had been made which skill and experience could suggest to render them capable of concentrating, and becoming ready either for offensive or defensive operations, on the shortest possible notice.

43.
Positions and preparations of the Allies, and reasons of their inactivity.

at a distance in the direction of Charleroi ; but, not having received the slightest intimation of the enemy's approach, they concluded that the firing proceeded from the Prussian artillery practice, which they had frequently heard before, and become accustomed to."—SIBORNE, ii. 73.

* " Je vois avec la plus grande satisfaction, que nous sommes tous d'accord sur la base générale du plan d'opérations ; c'est-à-dire, de limiter notre extension par la nécessité des subsistances pour des armées si vastes ; que l'armée d'Italie doit co-opérer avec les autres, mais sur une base différente ; et que le centre de la grande armée d'opération, celle qui s'étendra depuis la mer jusqu'à la Suisse, doit appuyer ou la droite ou la gauche, selon les circonstances. Ce centre sera composé des troupes de votre Majesté en entier ; la droite de l'armée du Maréchal Blucher, et de celle sous mes ordres ; la gauche, de celle sous les ordres immédiats de Prince Schwartzemberg. Pour ce que nous regarde ici, je crois que nous serons obligés de faire au moins le siège de Maubeuge."—WELLINGTON to ALEXANDER at Vienna—Brussels, 15th June 1815 ; GURWOOD, xii. 472.

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1815.

The troops were all warned to be ready to march at a moment's notice; and the position of their cantonments, spreading out like a fan, of which Brussels was the centre, was such as at once furnished them at the moment with the supplies of which they respectively stood in need, and at the same time facilitated their concentration within a very short period, not exceeding twenty-four hours. Wellington's left, under the Prince of Orange, was cantoned between Mons and Nivelles, with Braine-le-Comte and Nivelles for its rallying points: the right, under Hill, extended towards Ath. Blucher himself was at Namur, and his powerful army, a hundred and ten thousand strong, was cantoned from Liege to Nivelles, where it came in contact with the British left. But a considerable part of the British army was at Brussels; some were at Oudenarde on the Scheldt; and so little was an immediate attack anticipated in the direction of Charleroi, that the whole British cavalry was on the extreme right on the banks of that river, with headquarters at Ninove, between the army and the sea, with posts between that river and the Lys, for the benefit of the rich pastures which its meadows afforded. "Wellington," says Jomini, "believed Napoleon to be still at Paris, and only learned the approach of his army on the passage of the Sambre. But his army, which had not yet moved from their cantonments, extending from Oudenarde on the Scheldt to Nivelles, were warned and ready to start at the first signal." Late on the evening of the 14th, General Bourmont deserted to the headquarters of Blucher from Napoleon's camp, and confirmed the accounts previously received of the impending attack, which induced the Prussian general to issue immediate orders for the concentration of his army.* But no corresponding steps were taken on the part of the Duke of Wellington, who could not get that last intelligence till early in the morning of the 15th.¹†

¹ Welling.
Mem. to
Quarter-
Master
General,
June 15,
1815. Gurw.
xii. 472.
Jom. Camp.
de 1815, 148,
and 161.

* When General Bourmont was presented to Blucher, the latter expressed in strong terms his contempt for the faithless soldier. To appease him, and recall his attention to Bourmont's principles, some of the officers in attendance pointed to the white cockade in his hat; but the Prussian commander replied with characteristic honour and rudeness—"Einerlei war das Volk fur einen Zeitel ansteckt! Hundsfott bleibt Hundsfott."—(It is all one what a man sticks in his hat for a mark—a scoundrel remains a scoundrel.)—RAUSCHNICK, *Blucher's Leben*, 263; SIBORNE, i. 56.

† The following reason for the Duke's policy on this occasion is given

At daybreak on the 15th, the French army crossed the frontier and moved on Charleroi. The Prussian troops which occupied that town, evacuated it at their approach, and retired to Fleurus. The French forces passed the Sambre at Marchiennes, Charleroi, and Chatelet. It was evident that the enemy were taken unawares, and Napoleon conceived sanguine hopes of being able to separate

CHAP.
XCIII.

1815.

44.

The French
army crosses
the frontiers.

in the Memoirs bearing Fouché's name, though they are known to have been arranged by M. Alphonse de Beauchamps from the papers of that arch-traitor:—"My agents with Metternich and Lord Wellington had promised marvels and mountains; the English generalissimo expected that I should at the very least give him the plan of the campaign. I knew for certain that the unforeseen attack would take place on the 16th or 18th at latest. Napoleon intended to give battle on the 17th to the English army, after having marched right over the Prussians on the preceding day. He had the more reason to trust to the success of that plan, that Wellington, deceived by false reports, believed the opening of the campaign might be deferred till the beginning of July. The success of Napoleon, therefore, depended on a surprise: and I arranged my plans in conformity. On the very day of the departure of Napoleon, I despatched Madame D——, furnished with notes written in cipher, containing the whole plan of the campaign. But at the same time I privately *despatched orders for such obstacles at the frontier* where she was to pass, that she could not arrive at the headquarters of Wellington till after the event. This was the real explanation of the inconceivable security of the generalissimo, which at the time excited such universal astonishment."¹ Extraordinary as this story is, it derives confirmation from the following statement by Sir Walter Scott, who had access to the best sources of information, which he obtained at Paris a few weeks after the battle:—"I have understood," says he, "on good authority, that a person, bearing, for Lord Wellington's information, a detailed and authentic account of Buonaparte's plan for the campaign, was actually despatched from Paris in time to have reached Brussels before the commencement of hostilities. This communication was *intrusted to a female*, who was furnished with a pass from Fouché himself, and who travelled with all despatch in order to accomplish her mission; but being stopped for two days on the frontiers of France, did not arrive till after the battle of the 16th. This fact, *for such I believe it to be*, seems to countenance the opinion that Fouché maintained a correspondence with the Allies; and may lead, on the other hand, to suspicion, that though he despatched the intelligence in question, he contrived so to manage that its arrival should be too late for the purpose which it was calculated to serve. At all events, the appearance of the French on the banks of the Sambre was at Brussels *an unexpected piece of intelligence*." — *Paul's Letters, Miscellaneous Works*, v. 79.—It is remarkable that Scott's sagacity had, in this instance, divined the very solution of the question which Fouché afterwards stated in his Memoirs as a fact. To the same purpose Grolman Damitz says—"Wellington believed that Napoleon would attempt nothing before the 1st July, and that his first operations would be directed against *the right* of the British. He was in expectation of a despatch from Fouché, giving him a detail of the plan of the campaign; and till he received it, he gave no credit to the accounts of any intended irruption by the enemy." — GROLMAN DAMITZ, i. 103; see also *Die Grosse Chronik*, iii. 128. On the other hand, Wellington says, "Avant mon arrivée à Paris au mois de Juillet, je n'avais jamais vu Fouché, ni eu avec lui communication quelconque, ni avec aucun de ceux qui sont liés avec lui." — WELLINGTON to DUMOURIEZ, Sept. 26, 1815; GURWOOD, xii. 649. If this statement were inconsistent with the former, the Duke's high character for truth and accuracy would have rendered it decisive of the point: but in reality it is not so. It only proves that the English general had had no communication with Fouché or those whom he *knew* to be his agents. It does not prove that he was not in expectation of information from Paris, from persons whom he was *not aware* were agents of the French minister; and the wily character of the veteran police diplomatist renders nothing more probable than that Wellington's correspondents at Paris were, unknown to the English general, his secret agents. That he had such correspondents, and believed on the whole he would not soon be attacked, is proved by the Duke himself; for on the 13th June he wrote to Lord Lynedoch:—"We have accounts of Buonaparte

¹ Fouché,
Mem. ii. 340,
342.

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the British and Prussian armies. With this view, Ney was despatched with the left wing, forty-six thousand strong, with a hundred and sixteen guns and five thousand horse, to QUATRE BRAS : an important position, situated at the point of intersection of the roads of Brussels, Nivelles, Charleroi, and Namur, which Wellington had fixed on as the rallying point of his army, and whither

joining the army and attacking us ; but *I have accounts from Paris of the 10th*, on which day he was still there ; and I judge from his speech to the Legislature that his departure *was not likely to be immediate*. I think we are now *too strong for him here*.”—GURWOOD, xii. 462. On the night of the day on which this letter was written, Napoleon slept at Avesnes in his own camp, on the Flemish frontier ; and on the following evening, being the 14th, he issued to his troops the proclamation already given, immediately before the frontiers were crossed. The statement of the expected female spy given by Scott and Fouché is perhaps confirmed by a letter of Wellington's, which proves he did expect such a secret emissary ; for in his letter of 14th May 1815, he said, addressing a M. Henoul, evidently a spy—“*Je vous prie de venir ici pour que je puisse m'aboucher avec vous aussitôt que possible, et je vous envoie une somme d'argent pour les frais du voyage. S'il est possible, je crois que vous ferez bien d'amener avec vous la dame en question.*”—WELLINGTON à M. D'HENOUL, *Bruxelles*, 14th May 1815 ; GURWOOD, xii. 383. Nay, so strongly was the Duke impressed with the idea that no immediate attack was in contemplation, that on the 15th June, *the very day* on which the French, at four in the morning, crossed the frontier, and burst into the midst of the Allied cantonments, he was calmly engaged in writing a long and able letter to the Emperor Alexander at Vienna, on the general plan of the campaign, already extracted, which was based on a general invasion of France by the Russians, Prussians, Austrians, and English, in three armies, operating from Flanders to the Swiss frontier. “*Le Maréchal Blucher croit que la place de Givet ne lui servit d'aucune utilité : mais je crois que nous avons des moyens suffisantes pour tout ce que faudra que nous fassions.*”—WELLINGTON à L'EMPEREUR ALEXANDER, *Bruxelles*, 15th June 1815 ; GURWOOD, xii. 470, 472. — Nothing could be more proper than to make these general arrangements for future offensive movements ; but they afford demonstration that an immediate desperate defensive struggle was at that time not contemplated. At the moment that this letter was written, Napoleon was far advanced across the frontier, and past Charleroi, in his attack on the Prussian cantonments ; and in the course of the same evening intelligence of this arrived, and orders to collect the troops with all possible expedition were issued by the Duke.—See GURWOOD, xii. 471, 472. A great military writer, accordingly, states it as a point concerning which there can be no doubt, that both the Allied generals were surprised in the outset of the Waterloo campaign :—“*Les ennemis,*” says Jomini, “*étaient si mal informés de nos mouvements, que leurs armées ne se trouvaient pas encore rassemblées. Blucher avait un de ses corps à Charleroi, un autre à Namur, le troisième à Dinant, enfin le quatrième à Liège. L'armée de Wellington n'avait pas encore bougé des cantonnements qu'elle occupait depuis l'Escaut jusqu'à Nivelles.*”—JOMINI, *Vie de Napoleon*, iv. 625. To the same purpose it is stated by a gallant British officer, himself personally engaged on the outposts when the irruption of Napoleon began :—“*It is a historical fact which cannot be denied, that at daybreak on the morning of the 15th June 1815, the Allied army under the command of the Duke of Wellington was suddenly attacked in its cantonments by the French headed by Napoleon, who by this unexpected movement obtained the military advantage of encountering separately the Prussian army on the afternoon of the 16th at Fleurus, and the English army on the morning of the 18th at Waterloo, before these two forces could efficiently combine against him, as they did at sunset on the 18th, after the two great battles alluded to had been fought. Napoleon, by sovereign authority, wielded with admirable skill, prevented the intelligence of his movements from preceding his attack upon the cantonments of the Allies.*”—SIR FRANCIS HEAD. *Memorandum on Waterloo*. *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxii. 292, 293. The opinion of a most able military writer, General Clausewitz, is strongly expressed to the same effect.—See CLAUSEWITZ, viii. 52, 53 ; and *Die Grosse Chronik*, iii. 128.

they all, when put in motion, tended. By the possession of this decisive post, the French might have cut off the communication between the British and Prussian armies, and have been in a situation to fall with a preponderating force on either at pleasure. Meanwhile Napoleon himself, with seventy-two thousand men, marched towards Fleurus, right against the Prussian army, which was concentrating with all imaginable expedition, and falling back towards LIGNY. Ziethen slowly retired, contesting every tenable position, towards the general rallying point in his rear; but his loss was very considerable, and amounted during the day to twelve hundred men. A sharp action took place at Charleroi, and a bloody skirmish at Gossilies; but, though the Prussians fought bravely, they could not much retard the advance of their numerous assailants. It was in the afternoon of the 15th, at half-past four, that Wellington received this intelligence at Brussels: orders were despatched, upon the receipt of later and fuller accounts, at half-past seven, to the troops in every direction to concentrate at Quatre Bras; and after they had been sent off, he dressed and went with characteristic calmness and *sang-froid* to the ball at the Duchess of Richmond's, where his manner was so undisturbed, that no one discovered that any intelligence of importance had arrived. Many brave men were there assembled amidst the scenes of festivity, and surrounded by the smiles of beauty, who were ere long locked in the arms of death.¹*

¹ Jom. iv.
625, 626.
Vict. et
Conq. xxiv.
175, 178.
Wellington's
orders, June
15, 1815.
Gurw. xii.
472, 476.
Die Grosse
Chron. iii.
138, 146.

Blucher's army, with the exception of the fourth corps under Bulow, which, being stationed on the extreme left, between Liege and Hannut, had not yet come up, was concentrated on the forenoon of the 16th on the heights between Brye and Sombrefe, with the villages of St Amand and Ligny strongly occupied in its front. This position, though liable to many objections, had some

45.
Description
of the field of
Ligny, and
Blucher's
force and
dispositions.

* "There was a sound of revelry by night,
And Belgium's capital had gather'd then
Her beauty and her chivalry; and bright
The lamps shone o'er fair women and brave men;
A thousand hearts beat happily, and when
Music arose with its voluptuous swell,
Soft eyes look'd love to eyes which spake again,
And all went merry as a marriage bell:
But hush! hark! a deep sound strikes like a rising knell."
Childe Harold, canto iii.

*Very pretty Poetry but damned
nonsense*

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advantages ; for the villages in front afforded shelter to the troops, and the artillery, placed on the semicircular convex ridge between them, commanded the whole field of battle ; while the slope behind, surmounted by the windmill of Bussy, formed a strong *point-d'appui* in case of disaster.* It was attended, however, by this inconvenience, that the whole Prussian force was exposed to the view of the French, while part of their army was concealed from the Prussians : an advantage of which Napoleon skilfully availed himself in the battle which followed. Although the fourth corps under Bulow, which was on the extreme left at Liege, had not yet come up, the Prussian field-marshal had assembled eighty-four thousand men, of whom twelve thousand were cavalry, with two hundred and twenty-four guns. The four divisions of Ziethen's corps, formed in the first line, defended Ligny and St Amand ; those of Pirch were in the second, between Sombreffe and Brye, and were successively brought up to support the front. The left, under Thielman, which had only arrived at nine o'clock in the morning, extended towards Tongrine. Blucher was well aware of the disadvantages, in a military point of view, with which the position of Ligny was attended, especially when defended by three-fourths only of his whole force : but his object in holding it was to secure his communication with Wellington, by whom he confidently expected to be supported before the conflict was seriously engaged. He had had a conference with the English general at one o'clock at the windmill of Brye, from whom he had received promises of aid by an attack in flank on the French army at four o'clock.¹

Napoleon's force was less numerous : it consisted of seventy-three thousand men, of whom twelve thousand were cavalry, with two hundred and forty-eight guns.

¹ Siborne, i. 183, 186. Blucher's Official Account, June 16. Rauschnick, Bluchers Leben, 254, 260. Grosse Chronik, iii. 160, 164, 171. Clause. viii. 64, 65, 67.

* " La position des Prussiens était hérissée des difficultés sur son front, que couvrait le ruisseau de Ligny : la gauche s'étendait jusqu'aux environs de Sombreffe et Tongrine ; la droite, derrière Saint Amand. Ce grand bourg, formé de trois villages distincts, (qui portent le nom de Saint Amand le Château, Saint Amand la Haie, et Saint Amand le Hameau,) protégeait l'aile droite, donc le flanc appuyait à Wagnele ; la seconde ligne et les réserves étaient entre Sombreffe et Brye. Ainsi six grands villages, dont quatre étaient d'un abord difficile à cause du ruisseau, couvraient comme autant de bastions la ligne de l'ennemi ; ses réserves et seconde ligne, placées en colonnes d'attaquer par bataillons, entre Sombreffe et Brye, pouvaient en soutenir tous les points."—JOMINI, *Campagne de 1815*, p. 164.

The Emperor's orders to Ney had been to move early in the morning, and occupy Quatre Bras before the English army was assembled, and having left a strong detachment there, advance with half his forces on Brye, so as to fall on the rear of the Prussians and complete their destruction. The attack in front was not to commence till Ney's guns in the rear showed that he had reached his destined point; and Napoleon waited impatiently, with his army ready drawn up, till three o'clock in the afternoon, expecting the much wished-for signal. But not a sound was heard in that direction, while the loud and increasing cannonade on the side of Quatre Bras, which was only three miles and a half distant, told clearly that a desperate combat was going on there. There was now not a moment then to lose, if the Prussian army was to be attacked before the fourth corps under Bulow came up; and the Emperor at half-past three o'clock gave the signal for attack.¹

The better to conceal his real designs, Napoleon made great demonstrations against St Amand on his left; but meanwhile he collected his principal force, concealed from the enemy, opposite the Prussian centre at Ligny, which was to be the real point of attack. St Amand was carried, after a vigorous resistance, by the French corps under Vandamme; and no sooner was the enemy's attention fixed on that quarter, whither reinforcements were directed by Blucher, than Napoleon's centre, thirty thousand strong, commanded by Gerard, issued from behind the heights by which it was concealed, crossed the streamlet of Ligny, and pushing up the opposite bank, commenced a furious assault on the village of the same name. But if the attack was vehement, the resistance was not less obstinate: three times Ligny was taken by the impetuous assault of the French grenadiers, and three times the Prussians, with invincible resolution, returned to the charge, and with desperate valour regained the post at the point of the bayonet. Intermingled with the incessant discharge of musketry in the village, came forth alternately the war-cries of the opposite sides; and at every instant when the fire slackened, the loud shouts of "En avant, Vive l'Empereur!" or "Vorwärts, hurrah!" were heard above the roar of the artillery, which thundered

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46.

Force and
plan of attack
of Napoleon.¹ Siborne, i.
183, 186.Nap. ix. 96,
97. Blucher'sOfficial
Account,
June 16,1815. Jom.
iv. 626, 627.Plottho, iv.
36, 38.Gourg. Bat.
de Waterloo
50, 51. DieGrosse
Chron. iii.

161, 174

Vetter, ii.
299.

47.

Battle of
Ligny.Desperate
conflict in
the village of
that name.

June 16.

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¹ Claus. viii.
80, 81. Die
Grosse Chron.
iii. 177, 179.
Siborne, i.
193. Gourg.
51, 52. Nap.
97, 98.
Blucher's
Official
Account,
Plötho, iv.
38, 39. Jom.
iv. 628.
Vaud. iv.
143, 144.
Rauschnick,
Bluchers
Leben, 264.

48.
Napoleon's
attack on the
centre.

from the opposite heights. Volumes of dark smoke intermingled with flames issued from the old castle of Ligny, and added to the awful character of the scene. Each army had behind its own side of the village immense masses of men, with which the combat was constantly fed; and at length the struggle became so desperate that neither party could completely, by bringing up fresh columns, expel the enemy. Still they fought hand to hand in the streets and houses with unconquerable resolution; while the fire of two hundred pieces of cannon, directed on the two sides against the village, spread death equally among friend and foe. At six o'clock, after two hours' furious combat, nothing was yet decided; and Blucher, by directing in person a fresh corps against St Amand, had retaken part of that village, and an important height adjoining, commanding a large part of the field of battle. So impressed was the veteran field-marshal with the importance of this last attack, that he galloped to the front and said to the leading column, "Now, my children! show yourselves: don't let the great nation lord it over you: forward, in God's name, forward!"¹

Napoleon, however, no sooner saw this advantage than he ordered up fresh columns, and vigorously attacked St Amand both in front and flank. By degrees Blucher's reserves began to be engaged, and his position became very critical; for the attack of the French centre continued with unparalleled vigour, and neither Bulow's corps had come up on the one flank, nor the much wished-for British succours on the other. Both parties, almost equally exhausted, despatched the most urgent orders to their other corps or allies to join them: that of Napoleon at this juncture was so pressing, that he declared to Ney that the fate of France depended on his instantly obeying it,* and he at the same time ordered D'Erlon's corps, twenty-four thousand strong, forming that marshal's reserve, forthwith to defile towards Ligny. Ney, however, so far from being in a condition to make

* "At this moment, Marshal, the armies are warmly engaged. His Majesty commands me to direct you instantly to envelop the right of the enemy and fall on his rear; his army is lost if you act vigorously: the fate of France is in your hands. Do not lose a moment in making the prescribed movement, and march direct on the heights of Brye and St Amand, to contribute to a

the prescribed movement, was himself with difficulty contending against defeat at Quatre Bras. Meanwhile the fight continued with unparalleled vigour both in Ligny and St Amand. Every house, as at Saragossa, became the theatre of a separate and desperate conflict: the troops fought no longer in combined order, but personally, or in detached groups; and when ammunition failed, the bayonet or but-end of the musket, nay, even the stones of the fallen houses, and the yet burning rafters of the roofs, supplied the rage of the combatants. The entire village was concealed in smoke, from whence were heard, above the rattle of musketry, the yells and cries of the combatants, the crash of falling roofs, and smashing of doors and windows. Presently the French artillery of the Guard was brought up, and opened a terrible fire on the village. The Prussian reserve batteries came also into play; and so furious was the cannonade, that it seemed as if, by an awful earthquake, the valley had been rent asunder, and Ligny had become the crater of a burning volcano.¹

¹ Siborne, i. 200, 204.
Rauschnick, 264, 265.
Claus. viii. 83, 84.
Gourg. 51, 54. Kausler, 679. Jom iv. 627, 628.
Die Grosse Chron. iii. 183, 184.

At seven o'clock, D'Erlon's corps, which had been stationed by Ney in reserve two leagues from Quatre Bras, withdrawn thence by the positive orders of the Emperor, made its appearance on the extreme Prussian right, beyond St Amand. They were at first taken for Prussians, and excited no small alarm in the French army; but no sooner was the mistake discovered, than fear gave place to confidence, and Napoleon, now entirely relieved, brought forward his Guards and reserves for a decisive attack on the centre. The Hameau de St Amand had been carried by storm by the Prussians of Timpelskirschen's brigade, and the French made the utmost efforts to make themselves masters of it, as it was the key of that part of the position. Four times it yielded to their impetuous assaults, and four times the loud hurrah of the Prussians told that they had regained the post. So vehement did the contest become at this point, that when the fire of the Prussians in the village began to slacken from having expended their ammunition, the 11th hussars, who were stationed in its rear, rushed into

49.
Desperate conflict in and around St Amand.

victory which will probably prove decisive."—SOULT to NEY, 16th June 1815, a quarter past three; CAPEFIGUE, ii. 481, 482.

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¹ Rausch-
nick, 264,
265. Siborne,
i. 211, 222.
Claus. viii.
86, 87. Vaud.
iv. 147, 150.
Grolman
Damitz, i.
143, 145, 151.

50.
Final and
decisive
charge of
Napoleon's
Guards.

the midst of them and supplied them with their own cartridges; an act of devotion to which many of themselves fell a sacrifice. Blucher's anxiety to retain this post, as well as Ligny, till the arrival of Wellington on the right or Bulow on the left, was extreme: and he incessantly fed the contest in the villages with fresh troops, until at length his last reserves were engaged. "Forward, my lads! we must do something before the English join us," exclaimed the veteran Field-marshal, as he cheered forward his men to join in the deadly strife: but, meanwhile, the expending of his last reserves did not escape the eagle eye of the French Emperor. "They are lost!" said he to Gerard, as he cast his eyes on the vacant ground behind Ligny: "they have no reserve remaining." Immediately the formidable infantry and cavalry of the Guard were ordered forward for the decisive charge.¹

Milhaud's terrible cuirassiers advanced at the gallop, shaking their sabres in the air; the artillery of the Guard under Drouot moved up, pouring forth with extraordinary rapidity its dreadful fire; and in the rear of all, the dense columns of the Old Guard were seen moving forward, with a swift pace and unbroken array. This attack, supported by the appearance of D'Erlon's column in the distance, and a charge of twenty squadrons of cuirassiers on the Prussian right flank, proved decisive. The few battalions of infantry posted behind Ligny began to retire; the bloodstained street of the village fell into the enemy's hands; and in the confusion of a retreat, commenced just as darkness overspread the field, the troops naturally fell into some degree of disorder. The cannon, in retiring through the narrow lanes behind Ligny, got entangled, and twenty-one pieces fell into the enemy's hands. The veteran Blucher himself, charging at the head of a body of cavalry to retard the enemy's pursuit, had his horse shot under him, and he fell beneath it. "Now," said he to his aide-de-camp Nostitz, "I am lost; but that faithful officer stood by his side, and succeeded in the end in saving him. "Why have you saved my life," said Blucher to him, "to bring me into this strait?" The Prussian horse, overpowered by the French cuirassiers, were driven back, and the victo-

rious French rode straight over the Prussian marshal as he lay entangled below his dying steed. A second charge of Prussian horse repulsed the cuirassiers; but they, too, in the dark, passed the marshal without seeing him, and it was not till they were returning that he was recognised, and with some difficulty extricated from the dead horse, and mounted on a stray dragoon trooper. The loss of the French in the battle was six thousand nine hundred men; while the Prussians were weakened by twelve thousand, and lost four standards and twenty-one pieces of cannon. But ten thousand more, almost entirely composed of the levies from the Prussian provinces on the Rhine, who were in secret inclined to Napoleon, dispersed after the action, and were lost to the Allied cause.¹ *

While this desperate conflict was raging on the left of the Allied position, an encounter, on a less extensive scale, but equally desperate and more successful to the Allies, took place between Wellington and Ney at Quatre Bras. At midnight on the 15th, the drums beat and the trumpets sounded in every quarter of Brussels: at daylight the troops assembled at their several rallying points, and were rapidly marched off to meet the enemy. The Highland regiments, the 42d, 79th, and 92d, which had their rallying point in the Park and Place Royal, were particularly remarked for the earliness of their muster, the discipline and precision of their movements, and the air, at once grave and undaunted, with which they marched out of the town. Quatre Bras was the point of union assigned to the whole army; but as its distance from Brussels was not above eighteen miles, and other corps of the army, particularly the English cavalry and artillery, had, some twenty-five, some thirty miles to march, they arrived at different times; and Picton's division, with the Brunswickers, were first of those who came up from behind on the ground. A brigade of the Belgian troops had been assailed the evening before by Ney's advanced guard at Frasnes, and retreated to Quatre Bras, where ten thousand of their countrymen were assembled under the Prince of

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¹ Siborne, i. 227, 229.

Rauschnick, 265, 267.

Claus. viii.

88, 89. Jom

iv. 627, 628.

Gneiseneau's

Official Ac-

count, June

19, 1815.

Gourg. 51,

54. Nap. 100,

101. Vaud.

iv. 147, 151.

Plottho, iv.

40, 43.

Kausler, 679,

680. Varn-

hagen von

Ense, 496.

Die Grosse

Chron. vi.

198, 216.

Grolman

Damitz, i.

161, 168.

51.

Movements

before the

battle of

Quatre Bras.

* The Prussian loss in the battle, according to their official account, was:—

	Officers.	Men.
Killed,	66	3441
Wounded,	306	8265
	372	11,706

and 16 guns.—*Di Grosse Chronik*, iii. 207, 208.

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¹ Die Grosse
Chron. iii.
210, 213.
Grolman
Damitz, i.
199, 200.
Plotho, iv.
47. Nap.
Book ix. 103,
104. Gourg.
54. Welling-
ton to Lord
Bathurst,
June 19,
1815. Gurw.
xii. 479.

Orange. Had Ney attacked early and with vigour, he would probably have made himself master of this important point before the British troops arrived from Brussels. But he moved with such circumspection, that it was not till noon that he advanced from Gosselies,* where he had passed the night, and it was half-past two before he had collected any considerable force in front of Quatre Bras, by which time Picton's division and the Brunswickers were near the field. But their whole force, with the Belgians, did not exceed at that time twenty thousand, all infantry,† with twenty-eight guns; and Ney had in all more than double the number of troops, of whom five thousand were cavalry, with a hundred and sixteen pieces of cannon.‡

52.
Battle of
Quatre Bras.
June 16.

It was well for the British corps that the French marshal did not concentrate his whole army together, and commence his attack with his united force; for if so, they must inevitably have been crushed. But Napoleon's orders to reserve a large body in hand to strike the decisive blow against the Prussians at Ligny, led him to leave D'Erlon with twenty-four thousand men in reserve near Gosselies, to be at hand to support the Emperor at Ligny. In effect, the approach of that corps, as already mentioned, had a material influence on the battle at that place, though they did not actually take part in it. Ney himself, with eighteen thousand foot, eighteen hun-

* Ney's orders were in these terms:—"L'intention de sa Majesté est que vous attaquiez tout ce qui est devant vous : *qu'après l'avoir vigoureusement pressé*, vous vous rabattiez sur nous pour concourir à envelopper le corps ennemi entre Sombref et Brie. Si ce corps était enfoncé auparavant, alors sa Majesté manœuvrierait dans votre direction, pour faciliter également vos opérations." *Au bivouac devant Fleurus, à deux heures après midi, le 16me.*—JOMINI, *Campagne de 1815*, p. 168.

† Allied forces at the beginning of the action.

18,090 Infantry.
2,004 Cavalry (Belgians)

20,094 and 28 guns.

French at do. in field.

15,750 Infantry.
1,865 Cavalry.

17,615 and 38 guns.

Kellerman came up about five o'clock, and when this was done the French had 5,165 cavalry, and 50 guns.

‡ French force under Ney originally:—

		Infantry.	Guns.
Second corps, D'Erlon,	- -	23,420	and 46
First corps, Jerome,	- -	18,420	.. 46
Infantry,	- - -	41,840	
Cuirassiers,	- - -	2,700	
Light horse,	- - -	2,246	
Cavalry and guns,	- -	4,946	.. 24
Total,		46,786	116

—GOURGAUD, p. 47. Only half of this force, however, fought at Quatre Bras, the corps of D'Erlon being sent off to Ligny.

dred and fifty cavalry, and forty-six guns, commenced the attack at Quatre Bras. The Belgians were soon overthrown ; but, as they were retiring from the field, a broad line of red uniforms, to the inexpressible joy of the Prince of Orange, was seen on the road from Brussels ; and soon after, Picton's division and the Duke of Brunswick's men came up in haste and covered with dust. Instantly forming with great precision when they got in sight of the enemy, along the Namur road, the British division in front, and the Hanoverian brigade in a second line, they prepared to receive their attack. The Allies were now equal in number to the French, both being somewhat above twenty thousand ; but the former had not above twenty-eight guns, and no horse, except some squadrons of Brunswick hussars, which gave the enemy at first a decided advantage. The Belgians, indeed, had two thousand cavalry on the field ; but they never could be brought to face the enemy, and, when led forward to the charge, fled with such precipitation, in an early period of the action, that they swept the Duke of Wellington and his staff with them through Quatre Bras, and were not again seen on the field. The Duke now ordered part of the Brunswickers to move up on his right, between the Charleroi road and the Bois de Bossu, whilst he caused Kempt and Pack to advance, bringing up their right shoulders, so as to occupy the ground between that road and the wood of Piermont. Two heavy French masses, preceded by a cloud of skirmishers, advanced to meet them ; the skirmishers drew off as the adverse lines approached ; gradually the French fire slackened, and their columns began to waver ; then, uniting with a mighty shout, the British rushed on with lowered bayonets, and drove their opponents back in wild confusion to their original position.¹

Upon this, the French cuirassiers rode with the utmost gallantry close up to the British infantry, now wholly denuded of horsemen, and assailed them with such rapidity, that the sabres were upon more than one regiment before they had time to form square. The 42d in particular were charged in the middle of a field of tall rye ; two companies had not fallen back into the square when the cuirassiers were upon them, and they were driven back upon the square, followed by

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¹ Nap. Book
ix. 104, 105.
Wellington
to Lord
Bathurst,
June 19,
1815. Gurw.
xii. 479.
Jom. iv. 629.
Gourg. 55.
Siborne, i.
105, 108.
Die Grosse
Chron. iii.
215, 217.

53.
Vehement
charge on
the British
squares.

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¹ Siborne, i. 118, 119. Near Observer, 10, 11. Nap. ix. 104, 106. Wellington to Lord Bathurst, June 19, 1815. Gurw. xii. 479. Jom. iv. 629, 630. Gourg. 55, 56. Grolman, i. 208. Vetter, ii. 310, 312.

54.
Desperate
conflicts in
the fields,
and in the
wood of
Bossu.

some of the horse, and were almost cut to pieces, with their brave colonel, Sir Robert Macara, who was killed on the spot. The French horsemen, however, paid dear for their success; for a well-directed volley from the remainder of the regiment stretched the greater part of them on the plain, and the men, closing rapidly in, bayoneted such as had penetrated into the square. Meanwhile, Pack's brigade, consisting of the Royals, 42d, 44th, and 92d, which here upheld their noble character, succeeded, after an arduous conflict, in repulsing the enemy on the left of the high road. The third of these regiments being suddenly assailed by lancers in rear, when engaged in front, and having no time to form square, performed the astonishing feat of receiving the cavalry *in line*, and defeating it by a single well-directed discharge of the rear rank who faced about for that purpose.* At the same time the 28th, 32d, 79th, and 95th, forming Kempt's brigade, maintained their ground on its left; and although the French troops, both cavalry and infantry, fought with the utmost fury, and repeatedly rode up to the very bayonets of the soldiers, calling out, "Down with the English!—no quarter—no quarter!" and the enemy's cannon with unresisted fire made dreadful havoc in the British squares, yet little ground was gained, and Quatre Bras was still in the hands of the Allied troops, though the enemy's horse repeatedly rode up to its streets.¹

In no action of the war, however, did the British combat to greater disadvantage, or with more desperate valour, than here, from half-past two, when the battle commenced, till three o'clock, when Wellington in person arrived. He had just galloped across from Brye, where he had had a conference, as already mentioned, with Blucher, on their joint operations, and expressed his doubts to the Prussian general on the favourable nature of the ground he had chosen for the battle. Confident in his great superiority, especially in cavalry and artillery, Ney pushed his advantage to the utmost. Anxious to fulfil the instructions he had received, and repulse the British

* The colonel of the 44th, Hammerton, when he heard the rush of horsemen in his rear, calmly called out, "Rear rank, right about face—Present—Fire." The effect of the volley *in line*, at twenty paces' distance, was very great; but some of the boldest of the lancers reached the bayonets, and one struck Ensign Christie severely in the face: but that heroic officer, amidst all the agony of the wound, preserved the colours by throwing himself on his face.—SIBORNE, i. 119, 121.

before their reinforcements arrived, so as to be able to fall with the bulk of his forces on the Prussians when engaged with the Emperor at Ligny, he made the attack with all his accustomed vigour. Foy's division assailed Quatre Bras; Bacheluz, the village of Piermont; while on the extreme French left, the wood of Bossu was carried, after a bloody combat, by Jerome. In consequence of the British having few cannon, and, after the flight of the Belgian horse, no cavalry, the whole weight of the conflict fell on the infantry, who had no resource but to throw themselves, with all possible rapidity, into squares. The opportune arrival of Kellerman, with his division of cavalry, nineteen hundred strong, on the field at this time, which raised his horse to above five thousand, enabled Ney to employ that arm with fatal effect. The 42d and 44th, now formed in square, were charged so frequently to the very bayonets of the soldiers, that nothing but their extreme steadiness saved them from destruction. The 28th was assailed suddenly on three faces at once, by cuirassiers and lancers. "28th, remember Egypt!" exclaimed Picton, who was in the inside:* and motionless the men stood with their muskets in their hands. Not a voice was heard in the square but that of the colonel, who called aloud, "Ready!" The high corn concealed the horsemen from the foot-soldiers; but soon a hollow rush was heard, the corn-blades bent suddenly forward, and the lances of the enemy appeared within twenty paces. The word "Fire!" was then given by the colonel;† each front of the squares poured in a deadly volley, and the proud horsemen were instantly scattered in every direction: a rolling fire from the rear ranks completed their defeat.

Notwithstanding their heroic resistance, however, the combat, from the want of cavalry and the scanty artillery on the side of the British, was for long unequal. The Bois de Bossu, a post of great moment, as it entirely covered the English right flank, had been at length lost; and the squares in the open fields, sorely reduced by the grape-shot of the batteries, could hardly close up with sufficient rapidity to withstand the repeated and desperate charges of Keller-

¹ Maxwell's
Life of Well.
iii. 465.
Jom. Camp
de 1816, 177.
Siborne, 124,
127. Claus.
viii. 105, 107.
Die Grosse
Chron. iii.
220, 224.

55.
Noble com-
bat of Picton
and Kempt.

* See Chap. xxxiv. § 31.

Sir Philip Belson.

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man's horse. The men were becoming impatient under the dreadful fire of cannon to which, from being necessarily stationary through the want of cavalry, they were exposed, and repeatedly asked, "When shall we be at them?" The heroic resistance of the 42d and 44th, now sorely reduced, was watched with intense anxiety by Picton, who, despairing of getting the Belgian horse, which had fled from the field, to face the enemy, and having no other cavalry at his disposal, resolved on the bold measure of charging the enemy's cuirassiers and lancers with infantry. For this purpose he formed the Royals and 28th into column, and, placing himself with Kempt at their head, followed by the 32d, plunged headlong, with loud shouts, into the midst of the enemy's cavalry. They were immediately charged on all sides by lancers and cuirassiers; but, although entirely enveloped by their furious assailants, they repelled every attack by the precision of their fire; and effectually took the pressure off the 42d and 44th. Viewed from a distance, the British squares could not be seen amidst the surging multitude of horsemen by which they were surrounded, until their places were made apparent by a sudden volley, which, like the explosion of a bomb, scattered the assailing squadrons in every direction. But still the conflict was very doubtful; and the Belgian infantry, seven thousand five hundred strong, were so panic-struck that they abandoned the field, leaving the British, Hanoverians, and Brunswickers, not above twelve thousand in all, to withstand double that number of French, including five thousand admirable horse.¹

¹ Die Grosse Chron. iii. 214, 217. Siborne, i. 127, 129. Jom. Camp. de 1815, 178, 179. Maxwell's Well. iii 466. Gourg. 55, 56. Grolm. Dam. i. 207.

56. Arrival of Alten's division to aid the Allies.

Despite all their gallantry, the situation of the British had now become very critical, when the two infantry brigades of the 3d division, under Lieutenant-General Count Alten, most opportunely arrived on the field about six o'clock, accompanied by two batteries of foot-artillery. This reinforcement, which added five thousand five hundred admirable soldiers and twelve guns to the British ranks, in some degree restored the equality of the opposite forces, as Ney had twenty thousand men and fifty guns; but his five thousand horse still gave him a vast advantage in that arm. Halket's brigade, which headed the reinforcement, was immediately directed towards the

French left, between the wood of Bossu and the Charleroi road, while Kielmansegge's brigade, which followed, received orders to strengthen the extreme British left, where the troops which had so long fought with the cavalry were sorely reduced, and nearly exhausted by fatigue. Ney, upon perceiving this accession to the Allied forces, despatched a peremptory order to D'Erlon, to join him with his whole corps without a moment's delay—a step which exercised, as will appear in the sequel, a most important, perhaps decisive, influence on the fate of the campaign. At the same time he strongly reinforced his troops in the wood of Bossu, and, by a redoubled discharge from all his guns, prepared a fresh attack. The 42d and 44th were now formed into one square, and, with the 30th, which also got into the same formation, again repelled a formidable attack of French lancers. But the 69th was not equally fortunate; for, before the square could be formed, Kellerman's dragoons attacked and broke it, taking its colours; and, sweeping on, again assailed Picton's wearied bands, which only repelled their assaults by their unvarying steadiness in square. The resistance was most vigorous at every point; but the Allies, destitute of horse, were threatened with being turned on either flank; and Ney, deeming success secure, despatched the taken colours of the 69th as a harbinger of victory to the Emperor.¹

At length, at half-past six, two brigades of Guards, under Maitland and Byng, arrived with some other troops, which raised the Allies in the field to twenty-eight thousand men and sixty-eight guns. The men were covered with dust and dropping with sweat, after a toilsome march of eighteen miles from Enghien. They were immediately ordered by Wellington to retake the wood of Bossu, which they did in the most gallant style; but as soon as they attempted to debouch on the other side, their advance was checked by a tremendous fire of round-shot and canister from the French batteries; and they were driven back into the cover of the trees with great slaughter. A vehement charge of French horse on the disordered Guards was repulsed by a volley from the men under cover of the ditch of the wood. Still, how-

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¹ Siborne, i. 136, 149.
Jom. Camp. de 1815, 178, 179. Vict. et Conq. xxiv. 179, 180.
Die Grosse Chron. iii. 219, 222.

57.
Arrival of the Guards restores the battle.

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¹ Grolm.
Dam. i. 208.
Siborne, i.
127, 154.
Jom. Camp.
de 1815, 178,
179. Max-
well's Well.
iii. 466, 467.
Beamish, ii.
360.

ever, they held the wood, and every effort of the enemy to expel them from it was repulsed with heavy loss. Such was the fatigue of the Guards with this obstinate conflict, that many fainted among the trees from absolute exhaustion, when in the act of cheering on their more robust comrades. This desperate conflict continued for nearly three hours, without any decided advantage being gained on either side ; but, as evening approached, it was evident that the enemy's attacks were growing weaker, while the successive arrival of the remaining regiments of Cooke's Guards inspired fresh ardour in the wearied British.¹

58.
Desperate
resistance of
the British.

Still none of the cavalry had appeared, nor did the first brigade of British horse arrive on the ground till late in the evening ; the greater part not till midnight, after the conflict had entirely ceased. Meanwhile Ney, with Reille's corps and the cuirassiers, was making the most desperate efforts to force the English from their position. But such was the rapidity and precision of the British fire, that all his efforts proved ineffectual ; and towards seven, when Alten and the Guards, and a troop of horse artillery, had come up, it became evident that the weight of force had inclined to the British side. The French marshal, however, accustomed to victory, and trusting to the support of D'Erlon's corps, which he every moment expected to arrive on the field, continued his attacks with the utmost impetuosity. But the withdrawing of that powerful reserve, which would probably have changed the fortune of the day, without benefiting Napoleon, proved fatal to Ney. His attacks were all repulsed with great loss ; and at last, finding that D'Erlon had not come up, he sent a positive order for him to retrace his steps from Ligny, where he had produced an impression on the flank of the Prussians ; but he did not arrive till after it was dark, and when the battle was already lost. Wellington, seeing the pressure on his wings and centre relieved, ordered a general advance ; and the line, with loud shouts, moved forward to the position of the French, who retired with precipitation.¹ Ney at nightfall retreated to Frasnes, a mile from the field of battle ; and Wellington's men, wearied alike with

¹ Siborne, i.
158, 159.
Wellington
to Lord
Bathurst,
June 19,
1815. Gurw.
xii. 479, 480.
Jom. Camp.
de 1815, 177.
Die Grosse
Chron. iii.
222, 223

marching and fighting, lay on the ground on which they had fought at Quatre Bras, surrounded by the dead and the dying.

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In this bloody combat, the British and Hanoverians had three hundred and fifty killed, two thousand three hundred and eighty wounded, and a hundred and seventy-two made prisoners; and the loss of the Belgians and Brunswickers was thirteen hundred more—in all, five thousand two hundred men. The French loss amounted to four thousand one hundred and forty; and the fact of the repulsed army sustaining a smaller loss than the victorious one, is easily explained by the circumstance, that during the greater part of the day the British infantry, without cavalry, and but little artillery, combated against the French, who had fifty guns and five thousand admirable horsemen in their ranks. Among the killed was the gallant Duke of Brunswick, who nobly fell while rallying his men, when they were suffering dreadfully under the fire of the French artillery.* No guns and few prisoners were taken on either side; for the French having commenced the combat with giving no quarter, and evinced unparalleled exasperation during the whole day, the British troops were driven into a sanguinary species of combat, alike foreign to their previous habits and present inclinations.¹

59.
Loss on both
sides.

¹ Vict. et
Conq. xxiv.
180, 181.
Gurw. xii.
485. Near
Observer, xi.
11. Belgian
Official
Account,
June 17,
1815. Jones'
Battle of
Waterloo,
198. Ney's
Official
Account,
June 26,
1815. Ib.
262. Die
Grosse
Chron. iii.
226.

During the night of the 16th, Wellington received intelligence of the defeat of the Prussians at Ligny, and that they were retreating in great confusion in the direction of Wavre. Although, however, the troops of the Rhenish provinces, to the number of nearly ten thousand, left their colours and fled to Liege and Aix-la-Chapelle, before they halted, yet not a man was missing from the provinces of Old Prussia, and several fresh troops joined from that of Munster. Among these steady bands, the spirit of the men was neither tamed nor weakened. Unbroken confidence was placed in the aged chief who had so often led them to victory; and above all, in the energy with which he had been known on many former occasions to repair disaster. Nor was this confidence misplaced.—Blucher, on this trying occasion, proved

60.
Retreat of
the Prussians
to Wavres.

* "This noble chief had exhibited the utmost coolness during that trying day."—SIBORNE, i. 114, 116.

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himself worthy of heading the vanguard of the mighty host which combated for the independence of Europe. Placing full reliance on the resources of his own mind, and on the stern resolution of his men, he directed his whole energies to the one great object—the concentration of the whole forces in both armies to crush Napoleon. His line of retreat was directed to Wavre, in order to be nearer the English forces ; the reserve parks were brought up, in order to be ready for another battle ; the battering train was withdrawn from Liege to Maestricht ; and every thing which skill or prudence could suggest was done to put the army in the most efficient state. “ We have lost one battle,” said Gneisenau : “ we must gain another.” Despatches were sent off to Wellington, announcing Blucher’s readiness to co-operate in a general battle on the following day in front of Waterloo, not with two corps only, but with his whole army, provided, if the French did not attack them on the 18th, they should attack them on the 19th ; and a noble proclamation was issued to his troops, which concluded with the prophetic words—“ I shall immediately lead you anew against the enemy : we shall beat him, for it is our duty to do so.”¹

¹ Varnhagen von Ense, 500. Rauschnick, 268, 279. Siborne, i. 301, 303.

61.
Retreat of
Wellington
to Waterloo.

The English general at once saw that he could not maintain his position at Quatre Bras, when his left flank was uncovered by the retreat of the Prussians, and also, that by retiring to Waterloo, he would be so near Blucher that they would be able to aid each other in case of attack. Accordingly, at ten o’clock next morning, the British army, which was by that time in great part concentrated, sixty thousand strong, at Quatre Bras, retreated through Genappe to WATERLOO. Napoleon, according to his usual custom, rode over the ghastly field of battle at Ligny on the morning after the conflict, and observed with satisfaction the great proportion which the Prussian dead, lying around that village, bore to the loss of the French. From that he moved with his staff and Guards to Quatre Bras, from which Wellington had recently before retired on his road to Waterloo. So rudely, however, had the French been handled on the field of battle on the preceding day, that no attempt was made by them to disturb the retreat of either army, excepting by a

large body of lancers, which, about four o'clock in the afternoon, charged the English cavalry who were covering the retreat between Genappe and Waterloo. The day was oppressively hot, and the atmosphere close with the sulphurous clouds which bespeak an approaching thunder-storm. Not a drop of rain, however, had yet fallen, when, on the discharge of the first gun from the British horse-artillery on the right, the concussion seemed to rebound like an electric shock to the heavily charged mass above; a tremendous clap of thunder followed, and the rain instantly fell in such torrents, as in a few minutes to flood the ground, and for a period stop all movements on both sides. When the weather cleared up, the English heavy cavalry, under Lord Uxbridge and Ponsonby, retired through Genappe, leaving the 7th in that town to check the enemy. The French lancers in the first instance drove the 7th hussars, supported by a few other squadrons which covered the rear, through the street; as, in spite of the gallantry of that distinguished corps, its light horses and the sabres of the riders were unequally matched, in a close charge, with the lancers of France—especially in the narrow chaussée of Genappe where the conflict took place, and where the lances, like the spears of the Macedonian phalanx, presented an impenetrable front. Major Hodge of the 7th, who bravely led his corps, and the commander of the lancers, were both killed in close fight, combating at the head of their men.¹

¹ Siborne, i. 269, 271. Gourg. 70, 71. Nap. Book ix. 112, 114.

Lord Uxbridge, now the Marquis of Anglesea, no sooner perceived this, than he charged in person at the head of the first Life-Guards. These magnificent troops, albeit unprotected by armour, bore down upon the French horsemen with such vigour, as they were ascending the slope on the other side of Genappe, that the shock was irresistible, and in a few minutes the lancers were totally defeated, and driven with great slaughter headlong through the town. No farther serious attempt was made by the enemy to disquiet the retreat, which was conducted with perfect regularity and the utmost skill by the English general. Wellington retired with his whole troops to the front of the forest of Soignies,

62. Sharp conflict at Genappe between the English and French horse.

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1815.

¹ Siborne, i.
262, 271, 273.
Wellington
to Lord
Bathurst,
June 19,
1815. Gurw.
xii. 479, 480,
481. Gourg.
70, 71. Nap.
ix. 112, 114.
Jom. iv. 631,
632.

63.
Results of
the campaign
in favour of
Napoleon.

where he took up his position on either side of the high road from Charleroi to Brussels, in front of the village of Waterloo, on ground which he had already selected and had surveyed as the theatre of a decisive battle. Napoleon followed with the great bulk of his forces, and arranged them nearly opposite to the English, on both sides of the high-road leading from Charleroi to Brussels, with headquarters at La Belle Alliance. Thirty-two thousand had been detached under Grouchy to observe the Prussians who were retiring towards Wavre, and the troops which had assembled at nightfall amounted to about eighty thousand men. Wellington was not equal in point of numerical amount, his whole force being only sixty-seven thousand six hundred strong; but he was still more inferior in artillery and in the quality of part of his troops. His cannon amounted to only one hundred and fifty-six pieces, while the French had two hundred and forty-eight; and the British, Hanoverians, and Brunswickers, in number about fifty-one thousand, could be alone relied on for the shock of war—the remainder being composed of Belgians, or recently raised Nassau levies, upon whom little dependence could be placed in any serious conflict.¹ *

Though the campaign had only as yet lasted two days, yet its result in the first instance had been eminently favourable to the French troops, and had worthily rewarded the skill and daring of their chief. With a force inferior upon the whole by fully seventy thousand men to his opponents taken together, he had succeeded in combating at Ligny with advantage, at Quatre Bras with superiority of force; and nothing but the extraordinary and unforeseen circumstance of D'Erlon's corps, twenty-four thousand strong, having been marched at the decisive moment first from Quatre Bras to Ligny, and again from Ligny to Quatre Bras, without taking a part in either action, had prevented him from gaining in the very first day of the campaign what might have proved decisive success against *both* his opponents. Had D'Erlon's corps been thrown on the flank of Blucher

* See Appendix D, Chap. xciii.

when his last resources were exhausted, and Napoleon's Guard charged, the Prussian army would have sustained an irreparable defeat, possibly as disastrous as that of Jena. Had the same force been hurled against Pack's and Kempt's heroic brigades, when enveloped by Kellerman's cuirassiers at Quatre Bras, the English divisions engaged would have been destroyed before Alten's men or the Guards came up, or driven to an eccentric retreat, highly dangerous to themselves in presence of such a superiority on the enemy's part in cavalry and artillery, and probably fatal to the future communication of Blucher and Wellington. So great were the advantages gained by the admirably conceived irruption of the French Emperor into the space *between* the cantonments of the two Allied armies, at the head of his own force, fully concentrated, when each of theirs had a long distance to go over before their troops could be drawn together. And such the dangers incurred by the Allied commanders in delaying the concentration of their forces after those of the enemy had been all accumulated at a single point.

But the advantage, wellnigh decisive, thus gained by Napoleon in the very threshold of the war, was lost by the stubborn and heroic resistance with which he was encountered at Ligny and Quatre Bras by the Prussians and English, joined to the extraordinary circumstance which led to both his armies being deprived of the powerful succour of D'Erlon's corps at the time when it was most required. And the skilful conduct of the Allied generals in making a *concentric* retreat, as from the circumference of a circle towards its centre—Wellington to the front of the wood of Soignies, Blucher to the neighbourhood of Wavre—at once restored to them the advantage which the French Emperor had gained at the opening of the campaign. They were both now concentrated, and in a situation not only to give battle with their whole forces in a single field, but to aid each other in the most efficacious way if attacked separately by the bulk of his forces. That was the decisive circumstance. They had now regained, by their vigour and firmness, after the campaign began, the advantage of which, by his superior diligence in concentrating his troops, and

64.
The concentric retreat of the Allied armies had restored them the advantage.

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rapidity in directing them, he had at first deprived them. If fully engaged in front now with either army, he was exposed to a flank attack from the whole weight of the other, not more than ten miles distant. Prudence in such circumstances would have counselled retreat to the French general, satisfied with the advantages already gained. But that was not the characteristic of the Emperor's mind, nor was it, perhaps, consistent with the necessities of his situation. Daring, hazardous advance, staking all on a single throw, had always been his policy, and it had so often proved successful in circumstances yet more hazardous, that he had the utmost confidence in its not failing him on the present occasion. And in truth his circumstances, political as well as military, at home and abroad, were now such that he had probably no alternative; and with all Europe advancing against him, and a divided nation in his rear, his only chance of salvation was in a great stroke, which might paralyse the alliance by driving the English from its ranks.

CHAPTER XCIV.

BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

NEVER was a more melancholy night passed by soldiers, than that which followed the halt of the two armies in their respective positions on the evening of the 17th. The whole of that day had been wet and cloudy; but towards evening the rain fell in torrents, insomuch that, in traversing the road from Quatre Bras to Waterloo, the soldiers were often ankle-deep in water. When the troops arrived at their ground, the passage of the artillery, horse, and waggons, over the drenched surface, had so completely cut it up, that it was generally reduced to a state of mud, interspersed in every hollow with large pools of water. Cheerless and dripping as was the condition of the soldiers, who had to lie down for the night in such a situation, it was preferable to that of those battalions who were stationed in the rye-fields, where the grain was for the most part three or four feet high, and soaking wet from top to bottom. The ground occupied by the French soldiers was not less drenched and uncomfortable. But how melancholy soever may have been their physical situation, not one feeling of despondency pervaded the breasts either of the British or French soldiers. Such was the interest of the moment, the magnitude of the stake at issue, and the intensity of the feelings in either army, that the soldiers were almost insensible to physical suffering. Every man in both armies was aware that the retreat was stopped, and that a decisive battle would be fought on the following day. The great contest of two-and-twenty years' duration was now to be brought to a final issue; retreat after disaster would be difficult,

CHAP.
XCIV.

1815.

1.
Night before
the battle.

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XCIV.
1815.

¹ Siborne, i.
325, 327.

².
Feelings of
the soldiers
on both sides.

if not impossible, to the British army, through the narrow defiles of the forest of Soignies. Overthrow was ruin to the French. The two great commanders, who had severally vanquished every other antagonist, were now for the first time to be brought into collision; the conqueror of Europe was to measure swords with the deliverer of Spain.

Nor were sanguine hopes and well-founded grounds of confidence wanting to the troops of either army. The French relied with reason on the extraordinary military talents of their Emperor, on his long and glorious career, and on the unbroken series of triumphs which had carried their standards to almost every capital in continental Europe. Nor had recent disasters weakened this undoubting trust, for the men who now stood side by side were almost all veterans tried in a hundred combats: the English prisons had restored the conquerors of Continental Europe to his standard; and for the first time since the Russian retreat, the soldiers of Austerlitz and Wagram were again assembled round his eagles. The British soldiers had not all the same mutual dependence from tried experience; for a large part of them were second battalions who had never seen a shot fired in war. But they were not on that account the less confident. They relied on the talent and firmness of their chief, who, they knew, had never been conquered, and whose resources the veterans in their ranks told them would prove equal to any emergency. They looked back with animated pride to the unbroken career of victory which had attended the British arms since they first landed in Portugal, and anticipated the keystone to their arch of fame from the approaching conflict with Napoleon in person. They were sanguine as to the result; but come what might, they were resolute not to be conquered. Never were two armies of such fame, under leaders of such renown, and animated by such heroic feelings, brought into contact in modern Europe, and never were interests so momentous at issue in the strife.

The field of Waterloo, rendered immortal by the battle which was fought on the following day, extends about two miles in length from the old chateau, walled garden, and enclosures of Hougomont on the right, to the extre-

mity of the hamlet of La Haye on the left. The great chaussée from Brussels to Charleroi runs through the centre of the position, which is situated somewhat less than three quarters of a mile to the south of the village of Waterloo, and three hundred yards in front of the farm-house of Mont St Jean. This road, after passing through the centre of the British line, goes through La Belle Alliance and the hamlet of Rossomme, where Napoleon spent the night. The position occupied by the British army followed very nearly the crest of a range of gentle eminences, cutting the high-road at right angles, two hundred yards behind the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, which adjoins the highway, and formed the centre of the position. An unpaved country road ran along this summit, forming nearly the line occupied by the British troops, and which proved of great use, especially in moving the artillery during the course of the battle. Their position had this great advantage, that the infantry could rest on the reverse of the crest of the ridge, in a situation in some measure screened at least from the point-blank fire of the French artillery; while their own guns on the crest swept the whole slope, or natural glacis, which descended to the valley in their front.¹

Napoleon's troops occupied a corresponding line of ridges, nearly parallel, on the opposite side of the valley, stretching on either side of the hamlet of La Belle Alliance. The summit of these ridges afforded a splendid position for the French artillery to fire upon the English guns; but their attacking columns, in descending the one hill and mounting the other, would of necessity be exposed to a very severe cannonade from the opposite batteries. The French army had an open country to retreat over in case of disaster; while the British, if defeated, would in all probability lose a considerable part of their artillery in the defiles of the forest of Soignies, although the intricacies of that wood afforded an admirable defensive position for a broken array of foot-soldiers. The French right rested on the village of Planchenoit, which being of considerable extent, and beset with stone enclosures, afforded a very strong defensive position to resist the Prussians, in case they should so far recover

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3.

Description
of the field of
battle, and
position of
the English.

¹ Personal
observation.
Vaud. iv. 3,
7. Cap. ii.
189. Clause-
witz, viii.
115, 116.
Die Grosse
Chron. iii.
251, 253.

4.

Position of
the French.

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¹ Personal
observation.
Cap. ii. 189,
190. Vict.
et Conq.
xxiv. 201,
202. Vaud.
iv. 3, 7.
Claus. viii.
117, 119.

5.
Wellington
resolves to
give battle
in concert
with Blucher.

² Wellington
to the Duc
de Berri,
June 18,
1815. Gurw.
xii. 477, 478.
Gneisenau's
Official
Account,
204. Near
Observer.

from the disaster of the preceding day, as to be able to assume offensive operations and menace the extreme French right. The whole field of battle between the two armies was unenclosed, and the declivities and hollows extremely gentle; but the rugged hedge of La Haye Sainte, which ran for half a mile to the left of the village of the same name on the crest of the ridge, afforded great support to that part of the British line, and the thick wood which surrounded the orchard and garden of Hougomont was impervious to artillery, and proved of essential service in impeding the attack of the French columns.¹

Wellington had stationed part of Hill's corps, consisting of seven thousand men, at Hal, six miles on the right, in order to cover the great road from Mons to Brussels, in which direction he expected the enemy's attack would have been made; and he despatched letters to Louis XVIII. at Ghent, early on the morning of the 18th, recommending him, in the event of the enemy attempting to turn him by that town, to retire to Antwerp. Orders were at the same time sent to the governor of that fortress to open the inundations on the side of the Tête de Flandre, and to the person in charge of the magazines in the rear, to remove them to Antwerp. These precautionary measures, with the long trains of wounded which were brought in from Quatre Bras, and the exaggerated reports of the disaster sustained at Ligny, produced such consternation at Brussels, that all the English who could get away were preparing for departure. The road to Antwerp was already covered with fugitives of all descriptions; and the partisans of Napoleon joyfully looked forward to his entering on the following day. Wellington, however, was resolved to stand firm. His whole army, with the exception of the part of Hill's corps, consisting of Prince Frederick of the Netherlands' corps of Belgians, and Sir Charles Colville's division of British, which were stationed near Hal, was now assembled; and Blucher, with whom he had again communicated during the night, had engaged to support him, as already mentioned, not merely with two corps, as he had requested, but with his whole army.² He promised to be on the ground by one o'clock; and his line of march was

to be in two columns, by St Lambert and Ohain upon Planchenoit, so as to fall perpendicularly on the French flank after the combat was fully engaged.

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The morning of the 18th opened with a drizzling rain ; but the clouds were lighter than on the preceding day, and the sun occasionally broke in fleeting glimpses through the hazy atmosphere. Eagerly the men in both armies started from their dripping beds ; at once they awoke to a rapid consciousness ; but numbers were so stiff that it was with difficulty they could rise out of the water in which they had passed the night. But the sight which presented itself when they arose, soon riveted every eye, and moved every heart even in the most unthinking breasts in those vast arrays. Never was a nobler spectacle witnessed than both armies now exhibited ; its magnificence struck even the Peninsular and Imperial veterans with a feeling of awe. The troops gazed on each other with respect mingled with surprise. A stern joy was felt in hearts on both sides at the noble aspect of their antagonists.* On the French side, eleven columns deployed simultaneously to take up their ground ; like huge serpents clad in glittering scales, they wound slowly over the opposite hills, amidst an incessant clang of trumpets and rolling of drums, from the bands of a hundred and fourteen battalions and a hundred and twelve squadrons, which played the Marseillaise, the "Chant de Départ," the "Veillons au Salut de l'Empire," and other popular French airs. Soon order appeared to arise out of chaos : four of the columns formed the first line, four the second, three the third. The formidable forces of France were seen in splendid array ; and the British soldiers contemplated with admiration their noble antagonists :—¹

6.
Appearance
of the two
armies on the
morning of
the battle.

¹ Cap. Cent
Jours, ii. 189,
190. Tém.
Ocul. 6, 7.
Gourg. 75.

"A numerous host : in strength each armed band
A legion ; led in fight, yet leader seemed
Each warrior, single as in chief, expert
When to advance or stand, or turn the sway

* "Bello in sì bella vista anco è l'orrore,
E di mezzo la tema esce il diletto ;
Nè men le trombe orribili e canore
Sono agli orecchi lieto e fero oggetto.
Pur il campo fedel, benchè minore,
Par di suon più mirabile e d'aspetto :
E canta in più guerriero e chiaro carme
Ogni sua tromba ; e maggior luce han l' arme."
Gerus. Liber. xx. 30.

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Of battle: open when, and when to close
The ridges of grim war. No thought of flight,
None of retreat; no unbecoming deed
That argued fear. Each on himself relied,
As only in his arm the moment lay
Of victory."*

7.
Splendid
aspect of the
French force.

Two hundred and fifty guns, stationed along the crest of the ridge in front, with matches lighted and equipment complete, gave an awful presage of the approaching conflict. The infantry in the first and second lines, flanked by dense masses of cavalry, stood in perfect order; four-and-twenty squadrons of cuirassiers, behind either extremity of the second, were already resplendent in the fitful rays of the sun; the grenadiers and lancers of the Guard, in the third line, were conspicuous from their brilliant uniforms and dazzling arms; while in the rear of all, the four-and-twenty battalions of the Guard, dark and massy, occupied each side of the road near La Belle Alliance, as if prepared to terminate the contest. The British army, though little less numerous, did not present so imposing a spectacle to either host, from their being in great part concealed by the swell of the ridge on which they stood. They were drawn up in two lines, but the infantry chiefly in quarter-distance columns, with the cavalry in rear, and artillery in front skilfully disposed along the summit of the ascent. No clang of trumpets or rolling of drums was heard from their ranks; silently, like the Greeks of old,* the men took up their ground, thinking only of standing by each other, and doing their duty; and hardly any sound was heard from the vast array, but the rolling of the guns and occasional word of command from the officers. Napoleon had been afraid that the English would retreat during the night, and expressed the utmost joy when their squares appeared in steady array next morning, evidently with the design of giving battle.¹ He anticipated the speedy overthrow of

¹ Cap. ii.
189, 191.
Tém. Ocul.
6, 7. Gourg.
75, 76. Nap.
Book ix. 127,
128.

* MILTON, *Paradise Lost*, vi. 230.

† Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κόσμηθεν ἅμ' ἡγεμόνεσσιν ἕκαστοί,
Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγὴ τ', ἐνοπὴ τ' ἴσαν, θένιθες ὥς·
Ἡὺτε περ κλαγγὴ γεράνων πέλει οὐρανοθι πρὸ,
Αἴτ' ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀλέσφατον ὄμβρον,
Κλαγγὴ ταίγε πέτονται ἐπ' Ωκεανοῖο ῥοάων,
'Ανδράσι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρουσαι·
'Ηερίαι δ' ἄρα ταίγε κακὴν ἔριδα προσφέρονται.
Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν σιγῇ μένεα πνεύοντες Ἀχαιοί,
'Εν θύμῳ μεμαῶτες ἀλεξέμεν ἀλλήλοισιν·

Iliad, iii. 1-8.

the English oligarchy, and resurrection of France, more great and powerful than ever. "I have them, these English!" said he. "They exceed us by a quarter of their forces: but, nevertheless, nine chances out of ten are in our favour." "Sire," replied Soult, "I know these English; they will die on the ground on which they stand before they lose it."

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The British army on the ground amounted to sixty-seven thousand six hundred men,* of whom twelve thousand five hundred were horse; the French to eighty thousand:† but the superiority of the latter in artillery, and the quality of all the troops, except the British, King's German Legion, and Brunswickers, was still greater.‡ Napoleon had two hundred and fifty guns, Wellington a hundred and fifty-six, of which half were English; and of the French array no less than fifteen thousand eight hundred were splendid horse. The Allied army was drawn up in the following order.—The right, under Hill, extended behind Hougomont towards Braine la Leude; the chateau, garden, and wood of Hougomont were strongly occupied by General Byng's brigade of

8.
Disposition
and amount
of the troops
on either
side.

* English army that fought at Waterloo, exclusive of those detached at Hal:—

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Total.	Guns.
British,	15,181	5,843	2,967	23,991	78
King's German Legion,	3,301	1,991	526	5,838	18
Hanoverians,	10,258	497	465	11,220	12
Brunswickers,	4,586	866	510	5,962	16
Nassau men,	2,880			2,880	
Belgians,	13,402	3,205	1,117	17,724	32
	49,608	12,402	5,645	67,655	156

—SIBORNE, ii. 376.

Siborne makes the effective strength of the French at Waterloo as follows:—

Infantry,	-	-	-	-	48,950
Cavalry,	-	-	-	-	15,765
Artillery,	-	-	-	-	7,732
					71,947

With 246 guns.—SIBORNE, i. 461.

† See Appendix E, Chap. xciv.

‡ The comparative numbers of the two armies having been the subject of vehement dispute between the British and Continental writers, and being withal a matter upon which it is extremely difficult to arrive at a satisfactory result, it seems proper to observe that the statement in the text is founded on the following grounds:—

I. The British force is accurately known from the morning state of the very day of the battle; it amounted on the field, after deducting the troops absent at Hal, to 69,686 men.—See Appendix F, Chap. xciv.

II. The loss of the French official returns after the battle renders it impossible to arrive at the French force otherwise than by approximation. But, taking

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Guards, as was the farm of La Haye Sainte by a battalion of the King's German Legion; Picton's division, with Perponcher's Belgian division, and Ponsonby's men and Vandeleur's horse, stood on the left of La Haye Sainte, along the line of the ragged hedge; Clinton's division was in the right wing with Chassé's Belgians; the Brunswickers, Hanoverians, and Nassau troops, were in the centre under Domberg, Ompteda, and Arentschildt. The cavalry were all in the rear, behind the second line. The left was uncovered except by a deep ditch impassable for artillery, which, however, proved such an impediment that no serious attack was made on that extremity. The artillery was arranged along the whole front of the position, and swept the gentle slope which descended from it to the low ground which separated the two armies, wholly unbroken by enclosures or impediments of any kind. Great pains had been taken to separate the Belgian troops from each other, and mingle them in detached bodies through the British and Hanoverians; for their bad conduct at Quatre Bras had rendered it more than doubtful whether they could be prevented from joining the enemy. The French artillery was in like manner placed along the summit of their ridge in a semicircular form, directly fronting the British guns, at the distance of from a half to three-quarters of a mile; and their army was divided into the

the data which they themselves have given, it is possible to arrive very near the truth:—

1. Napoleon, in Book ix. *Mém.*, gives the French force which crossed the Sambre, as - - - - 122,404 men and 350 guns.

Gourgaud states the loss at Ligny,
p. 65, at - - - 6,800
at Quatre Bras, p. 1 at 4,140

10,940

Grouchy had with him,
(Fragm. Hist. 27,) - 31,370 42,310 men, 98 guns.

Total at Waterloo, - - - 80,094 252 guns.

III. Napoleon stated in his account of the battle, within two days after it was fought:—"We estimated the force of the English army at 80,000; we supposed that the Prussian corps, which might be in line to the right, might be 15,000. The enemy's force, then, was upwards of 90,000 men—*ours less numerous.*" *Bulletin of Waterloo*; GOLDSMITH, vii. 301. When it is recollected that this is the language of a defeated general, fresh from the field of battle, it affords the strongest indication that his force was at the very least 80,000; and this acquires additional force from the circumstance, that his estimate of the British force (80,000) was, including those detached at Hal, (7,000,) who took no part in the action, nearly correct. See a very able article on Waterloo, in FRASER'S *Magazine*, Nov. 1841, p. 509.

eleven columns already mentioned. D'Erlon, with the first corps, was on the French right of the chaussée of La Belle Alliance: Reille and Foy with the second in the centre: Jerome on the left, in front of Hougomont. Ney was destined for the serious attacks of the reserve and Old Guard in the centre. The cavalry, both light and heavy, was behind the infantry; the Guards in the rear beside the great road. "Never," says Napoleon, "had the troops been animated with such spirit, or taken up their ground with such precision; the earth seemed proud of being trodden by such combatants."¹

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¹ Die Grosse Chron. iii. 256. Nap. 132, 135. Vaud. iv. 25, 29. Gurw. xii. 481. Kausler, 676, 677. Siborne, i. 461. Claus. viii. 118, 119.

The village clock of Nivelles was striking eleven when the first gun was fired from the French centre, and immediately followed by a quick rattle of musketry from the left, as the weighty column commanded by Jerome, six thousand strong, approached the enclosures of Hougomont, which was defended by the Guards, and a Nassau and Brunswick battalion in the wood and orchard. The English light troops fought stoutly in the wood, and slowly falling back, contested every tree, every bush, every sapling, until the fire became so warm that almost every branch was cut through by numerous, some as many as twenty, shot.* Thirty British guns opened their fire upon the wood; Napoleon immediately advanced Reille's and Kellerman's guns to reply, and supported Jerome by Foy's division. Gradually, in spite of the utmost efforts of its defenders, the wood around the chateau was carried by the assailants: but the garden and castle, defended by a high brick wall, in which a double tier of loopholes had been struck out, presented an invincible resistance. Six companies of English Guards, under Colonel Woodford and Lord Saltoun, soon after regained the orchard, which they held for the rest of the day. Napoleon upon this ordered a battery of howitzers to play upon the building, which soon set it on fire: the flames burst forth with unquenchable fury, and the chateau was in part consumed.² But the first and second Foot-Guards, under Colonel Macdonell, Colonel Home, and Lord Saltoun, still held the courtyard and remainder

9.

Commencement of the battle. Attack on Hougomont.

² Nap. Book ix. 142, 143. Cap. ii. 192. 193. Gourg. 78, 79. Kausler, 678. Wellington to Lord Bathurst, June 19, 1815. Gurw. xii. 481. Scott's Nap. vii. 484. Claus. viii. 120.

* The author counted twenty-two shot-marks in one tree, not six inches in diameter, at the south-east corner of the orchard, shortly after the battle.

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of the building with unconquerable resolution. The first of these brave officers, when a vehement onset had burst open the gate of the courtyard, and a party of the French, great part of whom were in the end slain or taken, had rushed in, actually, by a great exertion of personal strength, drove the survivors out, and closed it in the face of the French bayonets !

10.
Grand attack
of D'Erlon
on the left
centre.

This assault, how vehement soever, was but a feint to conceal the real point of attack, which was in the right centre, and was entrusted to Marshal Ney, with D'Erlon's corps, twenty-four thousand strong, who had not at all been yet engaged in the campaign. They were arranged in four massy columns, supported by the fire of eighty pieces of cannon, placed on the opposite heights, which played over their heads as they advanced up the slope on the British side. Already the corps had moved to the front, when the Emperor perceived on his extreme right, in the direction of St Lambert, a dark mass in the openings of the wood. All glasses were immediately turned in that direction—"I think," said Soult, "it is five or six thousand men, probably part of Grouchy's army." Napoleon thought otherwise ; he never doubted they were Prussians. Three thousand horse were detached to observe this corps, two divisions of infantry followed, and an order was soon after dispatched to Grouchy to hasten to the field of action. Meanwhile, the cannonade had grown extremely warm along the whole line ; four hundred and thirty guns on the two sides kept up an incessant fire ; the tirailleurs along the front were warmly engaged ; and in the midst of it, Ney received orders to direct his attack on the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, and the line on its left, in order to force back the British left and interpose between it and the Prussians, who still remained stationary in the wood. It was now noon. Ney pushed forward his batteries to the most advanced heights on his own side of the valley, and his troops in the four columns advanced to the attack. D'Erlon's men were on the right, and moved against the British left, stationed along the hedge of La Haye Sainte ; Ney himself directed the attack on the centre, and marched against the farm of the same name ;¹ and

¹ Siborne, ii. 8, 15. Kausler, 679. Jom. iv. 634. Nap. Book ix. 150, 151. Picton's Mem. ii. 357. Claus. viii. 121.

powerful bodies of cavalry advanced on the flank or rear of either column, to take advantage of any opening which might be effected.

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Wellington no sooner perceived the formidable attack preparing against his left centre, than he drew up the fine brigade of horse, under Sir William Ponsonby, consisting of the 1st Royals, Scotch Greys, and Inniskillens, close in the rear of Picton's division, and placed Vivian's and Vandeleur's light brigades of cavalry on the extreme left. Ponsonby's brigade of heavy dragoons was stationed behind the hedge of La Haye Sainte, in such a situation as to be concealed from an enemy advancing up the slope in their front. The brigade of Belgians of Perponcher's division formed the first line of infantry; they, however, speedily gave way before the enemy were within half musket-shot, at the mere sight of the formidable mass of the French columns. Upon this D'Erlon's men, sustaining with resolution the heavy fire which the British cannon and infantry opened upon their front, still pressed up the slope till they were within twenty yards of the English line. Such was the indignation felt in the British ranks at this conduct of the Belgians, that they could with difficulty be prevented from giving them a volley as they hurried through to the rear. Arrived in front of the red-coats, however, the French halted, and a murderous fire commenced, which soon fearfully thinned the nearest British division, which began to yield. Picton, upon this, ordered Pack's brigade to advance, consisting of the 42d, 44th, 92d, and Royal Scots; and these noble veterans, as on the brow of the Mont Rave at Toulouse, advanced with a loud shout, and poured in so close and well-directed a fire, that the French columns broke and recoiled in disorder. At this instant, the heroic Picton, as he was waving his troops on with his sword, and had just pronounced the words, "Charge, charge! hurrah!" was pierced through the head with a musket-ball, and fell dead.* Kempt immediately took the command; the rush of horse was heard, and Ponsonby's brigade, bursting through or leaping over the hedge which had concealed them from the enemy,¹ dashed through the intervals of

11.
Defeat of
that attack.

¹ Vaud. iv.
34, 36. Tém.
Ocul. 7, 8.
Kausler, 679.
Robinson's
Picton, ii.
361, 362.
Nap. ix. 150,
151. Siborne,
ii. 20, 31.
Claus. viii.
122, 123.

* He had been severely wounded at Quatre Bras, and had two of his ribs broken; but his ardent spirit led him to conceal an injury which had already, as was afterwards discovered, left a mortal wound.—ROBINSON'S *Memoirs of Picton*, ii 362.

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the infantry, who opened to let them pass, and fell headlong on the wavering column. The shock was irresistible ; in a few seconds the whole mass was pierced through, ridden over, and dispersed ; the soldiers in despair fell on their faces on the ground and called for quarter. In five minutes two thousand prisoners and two eagles were taken—one by the Greys and the other by the Royals—and the column was utterly destroyed.¹*

12.
Brilliant
charge of
British
horse, under
Ponsonby.

Transported with ardour, the victorious horse, supported by Vandeleur's brigade of light cavalry, consisting of the 11th, 12th, and 16th dragoons on their left, charged on against a second column of D'Erlon's men, which quickly was ridden down, and a thousand more prisoners were taken. The Highland foot-soldiers, vehemently excited, breaking their ranks, and catching hold of the stirrups of the Scots Greys, joined in the charge, shouting "Scotland for ever!"† and collected the prisoners made during the fiery onset. Unsatisfied even by this second triumph, these gallant horsemen, amidst loud shouts, rode up the opposite height, and having reached its summit turned sharp to the left, and dashed through D'Erlon's batteries which had sent such a storm of shot through their ranks before the charge began. Taken thus suddenly in flank, the gunners could neither wheel round their pieces nor make any resistance, and they were speedily cut to pieces, the traces cut, and the horses hamstrung or killed.¹

¹ Vaud. iv.
34, 36. Tém.
Ocul. 7, 8.
Siborne, ii.
35, 41. Kaus-
ler, 679.

13.
Defeat of the
brigade by
the cuiras-
siers.

So forcibly was Napoleon struck by this charge, that he said to Lacoste, the Belgian guide, who stood beside him, "Ces terribles chevaux gris—comme ils travaillent!"‡ He instantly ordered Jaquenot's light cavalry, consisting of chasseurs and lancers from the second line, to charge the victorious British ; and these fresh troops easily overthrew the English horsemen, now much disordered and entirely blown by their unparalleled

* On the eagle of the 45th Regiment, taken by Serjeant Ewart of the Greys, were inscribed the words "Jena, Austerlitz, Wagram, Eylau, and Friedland." Ewart was most properly made an officer. He took the eagle after a most desperate struggle.—SIBORNE, ii. 36.

† See Appendix G, Chap. xciv. where a very curious account is given by Mr James Armour, rough-rider to the Scots Greys, of this memorable charge, in which he bore a most gallant and distinguished part. It was furnished to the author by Mr Armour himself, and few narratives ever bore so clearly the signet-mark of truth.

‡ Why are these words, with "Blenheim and Waterloo," in both of which battles they took part, not engraven on the helmet of every officer and man in the Scots Greys? They can never have so glorious a motto.—See ALISON'S *Marlborough*, Chap. ii. § 53.

efforts, as they were retiring from the theatre of their triumphs. In the hurried retreat to their own position, General Ponsonby was killed, great numbers of his men were cut down or dispersed, and the brigade hardly brought back a fifth of its numbers.* But the lancers in their turn shared the fate of their heroic opponents; Vandeleur, whose brigade had been retarded in its advance by an unavoidable circuit, fell upon them in flank when streaming in pursuit up the English slope, and drove them back with great slaughter into the hollow. By the help of this timely succour, the heavy brigade, by small detachments, regained their own lines, though grievously weakened. But never, perhaps, had a charge of an equal body of horse achieved greater success; for, besides destroying two columns five thousand strong, and taking three thousand prisoners, we have the authority of the great military historian of Napoleon for the fact, that they carried, cut the traces, and rendered useless for the remainder of the day, no less than forty pieces of cannon.^{1†}

While this fierce conflict was going on in the British left centre, Napoleon directed a vigorous charge of horse and foot against the centre itself. Heavy columns of horse and foot mounted the slope above La Haye Sainte, and the infantry forming the left column of D'Erlon's corps entirely enveloped La Haye Sainte, and began to advance beyond it towards Wellington's tree. There, however, the British general had ordered the 79th Highlanders, forming the right of Kempt's brigade, with the 28th and 32d, to advance; and these steady veterans cheered loudly, fired, and, moving forward steadily, forced back the column. Wellington at this instant ordered up a Hanoverian battalion on one flank, while two others moved up on the other side; and they were driving the column in disorder down the hill before them, when Milhaud's cuirassiers fell upon one of the Hanoverian battalions before it could form square, and it was almost destroyed.

* Great part, however, rejoined their colours next day. The total loss of the brigade, from the 15th to the 19th June, was 613; and they were, at the opening of the campaign, 1183 sabres, besides officers—or about 1250 men.—*United Service Journal*, October 1843, p. 290.

† “By this charge some battalions were cut to pieces; the *eighty* guns of Ney were seized, or rather the English dragoons, after sabring the drivers, cut the traces and hamstringed the horses, and rendered them totally useless.”—JOMINI, *Vie de Napoleon*, iv. 634, 635. I am inclined to think, however, that only forty guns were seized, and their traces cut in this charge, which corresponds with Muffling's account, who says the guns rendered useless by this charge were five batteries, or forty pieces.

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¹ Vaud. iv. 34, 36. Jom. iv. 634, 635. Nap. Book ix. 150, 151. Robinson's Mem. of Picton, ii. 361, 362. Jom. Atlas Port. 73. Tém. Ocul. 7, 8. Kausler, 679. Personal information from officers engaged Siborne, ii. 31, 41. Die Grosse Chron. iii. 278, 282.

14.

Defeat of the French cuirassiers by Somerset's Horse Guards.

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¹ Kausler,
679. Jom.
Atl. Mil. 73.
Vaud. iv. 35.
36. Beamish,
ii. 355, 366.
Jones'
Waterloo,
III. Siborne,
ii. 20, 31.

But Wellington soon had his revenge. He instantly moved forward the heavy brigade of Lord Edward Somerset, consisting of the Life-Guards, Royal Horse Guards, and 1st Dragoon Guards; and these splendid troops, overflowing with strength, but in the finest order as on the parade ground, led by Lord Anglesea in person, bore down with the utmost vigour on the French cuirassiers, when they too were sounding the charge against the British and shouting *Vive l'Empereur!* The cuirassiers were fairly ridden over by the weight of man and horse; and a considerable number, driven headlong over a precipice into a gravel pit, were killed by the fall. Others, trodden under foot, and crushed by the wheels of some artillery and waggons which at the moment were coming up, perished miserably. Somerset's brigade pursued their success down to the foot of the slope, and then regained their position, not without heavy loss from the French batteries.¹

15.
Progress of
the battle on
the British
right.

During this terrible strife Wellington remained at his position at the foot of his tree, calmly observing the progress of the enemy, occasionally directing the advance of a line, or the formation of a square, when the circumstances appeared critical. So heavy was the fire of cannon-shot to which he was exposed, that nearly all his suite were in the course of the action killed or wounded by his side; and he was obliged in the close of the day, to the casual assistance of a Piedmontese officer,* who stood near, to carry the most necessary orders. "That's good practice," said he, as the cannon-shot struck the branches above his head; "they did not fire so well in Spain." At length, however, all the attacks of infantry in the centre were repulsed; but Napoleon, still persisting in the effort to carry that part of the field, brought up his whole light cavalry to the attack, and supported them by the cuirassiers in the second line. Such was the ardour of the French horse, however, and their impatience under the fire of the British guns, that many of the reserve brigades were brought up or advanced without orders, and soon nearly the whole cavalry was engaged. Their attacks were directed on both sides of the great road by La Haye Sainte, and also round Hougomont, now entirely surrounded by multitudes of foot and horse,² though still

² Sib. ii. 90,
91. Beam.
ii. 358. Vaud.
iv. 37.

* Major Count de Sales, afterwards the Sardinian ambassador at Paris.

held by the Guards and Brunswickers, to turn the right flank of the British.

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16.

Lord Anglesea defeats an attack on the British right.

A heavy column of cavalry shortly after approached the British right centre, which Somerset's brigade, with their reduced numbers, were unable to check. The Marquis of Anglesea upon this put himself at the head of Tripp's Belgian carabineers; but, though led by that officer with his accustomed gallantry, not a man followed; and the Belgians fled with such vehemence as wellnigh to sweep away two squadrons of the 3d hussars, King's German Legion, which were advancing in support. The 3d, however, soon recovered their order, and, led by Anglesea, charged the cuirassiers with such vigour that they broke entirely through them. But being attacked on either flank after their success by fresh regiments of horse, they suffered dreadfully, and were forced to seek refuge behind the squares. So great was the pressure in that quarter, that Wellington was obliged to bring up General Chassé's brigade of Dutch troops, and his whole reserve from Brain-la-Leude, where they had been stationed, to avoid being outflanked on that side. As they approached, a cavalry regiment, the Cumberland hussars, a thousand strong, which was ordered to charge the French horse in that quarter, being received by a sharp fire on crossing the ridge, turned about and fled, never drawing bridle till they reached Brussels, where their unexpected entry created the utmost alarm. Chassé's brigade of Dutchmen, however, with the 52d, 71st, and the Brunswickers, on the right, stood firm, and, bringing up their right shoulders, with their batteries in front, not only opposed an invincible barrier to the progress of the enemy, but regained the orchard of Hougomont, which had been carried in the earlier part of the day.¹

¹ Siborne, ii. 91, 94.
Kausler, 680, 681. Beamish, ii. 358.
Vaud. iv. 37, 39. Jom. Atl. Mil. 173.
Die Grosse Chron. iii. 296, 297.

After this, the British centre continued, for nearly three hours, to be the theatre of the most extraordinary conflict which had occurred during the whole Revolutionary war. Wellington had, after the last charges, withdrawn his cavalry from the active operations of the field, wisely reserving it for the close of the day, and trusting to the fire of the guns in front of his line, and the steadiness of the squares behind, to withstand the enemy's assaults. The French horse, above twelve thousand strong, in great part clad in glittering armour, rode up

17.

Desperate charges of cavalry in the centre.

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the slope in front of the English line, and, with loud cries and unparalleled enthusiasm, dashed through the guns, and threw themselves on the squares. So vast was the mass of horse thus brought against the British left centre, that at length seventy-seven squadrons were engaged in the attack, and they filled up the whole open space between La Haye Sainte and Hougomont. The first line was composed of cuirassiers, in burnished steel, the second of the red lancers of the Guard, in brilliant uniform, the third, of the chasseurs of the Guard, in rich furred costume of green and gold, with black bear-skin shakos on their heads. Never had a more sublime military spectacle been witnessed : no force on earth seemed capable of resisting them. Napoleon rode through the lines, both of infantry and cavalry, before they mounted the British slope, and harangued the men before they left his side of the hollow ; but in doing so he was frequently exposed to danger : General Devaux, who commanded the artillery of the Guard, was killed by his side. On no former occasion had the French soldiers been known to exhibit such enthusiasm. To support the grand charge of horse in the centre, Reille's corps, in two columns, advanced against Wellington's right centre, while the remains of D'Erlon's men re-formed again and assailed the left ; and the whole French guns which could be brought to bear upon the menaced part of the line, a hundred and twenty in number, were pushed as far forward as possible, and sent a storm of shot and shells through the British squares. The charge of the horsemen on the batteries in the centre was irresistible. Disregarding the terrible fire of the British batteries, which, discharging grape and canister point-blank, made frightful chasms in their ranks, the cuirassiers rode slowly forward, carried the guns amidst vehement cries of "*Vive l'Empereur !*" and dashing on, swept round the squares within pistol-shot, often coming to the very muzzles of the British muskets.¹

¹ Vaud. iv. 45, 47.
Siborne, ii. 65, 66. Cap. ii. 193, 194.
Beamish, ii. 359, 361.
Kausler, 680.
Vict. et Conq. xxiv. 217, 218.
Claus. viii. 122. Die Grosse Chron. iii. 298, 299.

18.
Their defeat.

But vain were all attempts to break that heroic infantry, which seemed, as it were, rooted in the earth. Lying down to avoid the driving shot which swept over the field, the men, in silence, beheld their ranks torn by bombs and ricochet shot without once moving ; but no sooner did the cuirassiers appear, than the whole, instantly starting up, threw in such a volley that half of the

horsemen were stretched on the plain, and the remainder recoiled in disorder out of the frightful strife. The British guns, which stood in front, forty in number, repeatedly fell into the hands of the cavalry, whose valour, always great, was now roused to the most enthusiastic pitch of daring.* The artillerymen took refuge in the nearest squares: the cuirassiers rode round them, anxiously looking for an opening, sometimes with desperate valour striving to make it at the sword's point, until the rolling fire of the infantry repelled the charge; and as soon as the horsemen turned about, the gunners issued forth, quickly re-loaded their pieces, and sent a destructive storm of grape after the retiring squadrons. Then, and not till then, the British cavalry were let loose in pursuit, and hurled the assailing columns in confusion to the bottom of the slope, from whence they themselves were fain soon to regain the shelter of the friendly squares, to shun the onset of the fresh French reserves in the rear. During this unparalleled struggle, several British generals and the Prince of Orange repeatedly threw themselves into the steady squares. "Stand fast, 95th!" said Wellington; "we must not be beaten: what would they say of us in England?" "Never fear, sir," they replied; "we know our duty."¹

¹ Nap. Book ix. 158, 159. Tém. Ocul. 134, 135. Jones' Battle of Waterloo, 134. Scott's Paul's Letters, 147. Siborne, ii. 76, 85. Claus. viii. 123.

By the disaster which has been mentioned, Ney had lost great part of his artillery; one of his columns of attack was totally destroyed, and another repulsed in disorder. Napoleon, however, ere long moved forward the batteries in the rear to his support, the centre columns advanced, and Donzelot's division speedily enveloped La Haye Sainte, and pushed up the slope behind it into the very centre of the British position. The brave Hanoverians of the King's German Legion, who formed its garrison, three hundred and eighty in number, long maintained their ground against the surging multitude. But their ammunition being at length exhausted, and all communication with the British line, of which that farm-house was the advanced post, cut off, the gates were forced open,² and in

19.
Capture of
La Haye
Sainte.

² Siborne, ii. 20, 25. Beamish, ii. 356, 356. Vaud. iv. 35. Kausler, 679. Die Grosse Chron. iii. 296.

* By Wellington's orders, the gunners, after discharging their pieces when the cavalry were close upon them, unlimbered the near wheel of each gun, and retired rapidly, rolling the wheel with them, into the nearest square. Speedily the French horsemen came up, and threw ropes prepared for the purpose, like the South American lasso, over the gun; but they could not make it move along on one wheel; and when striving to drag along their prize, the deadly volley of the square stretched half of those thus engaged on the ground, and sent the rest headlong down the slope.

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the retreat which had become unavoidable to the British line in their rear, great numbers fell, bravely combating to the last. Encouraged by this success, which he thought would prove decisive, Napoleon ordered a renewal of the attack on the British centre and right: Ney's columns pressed on round La Haye Sainte, to pierce the centre of the Allied position, while Reille's corps advanced against Hougomont. But the steadiness of the Allies again repulsed them.

20.
Arrival of
Bulow's
corps at
Planchenoit;
their repulse.

While this desperate conflict raged in front of Mont St Jean and around La Haye Sainte, Blucher's troops, pressing on with unparalleled ardour, did their utmost to clear the defiles through the forests behind Frischermont; but such were the difficulties of the passage, owing to the horrible state of the roads, that it was not till half-past four that Bulow, who led the advanced guard, was able to deploy from the woods. Long all their efforts were unavailing. The deep and miry roads between Wavres and St Lambert had caused so many stoppages and breaks, that the column was stretched over miles. The guns often sank axle-deep, and such was the exhaustion of the horses, that they were unable to drag them out. The men, wearied as they were, upon this were harnessed; and, as at the passage of the St Bernard, their efforts were stimulated by the sounding of the charge.—“We cannot get on!” they exclaimed. “But you *must* get on,” was the loyal-hearted Blucher's reply: “I have pledged my word to Wellington, and you will not make me break it. Courage! my children! Yet a few hours' effort, and you will gain a glorious victory.” This noble conduct in the end met with its reward. The difficulties were, by strenuous efforts, at length overcome. Blucher's advanced column, headed by Bulow, sixteen thousand strong, then appeared in the rear of the French right, and marching in échelon, the centre in front, fell perpendicularly on their flank.¹

¹ Claus. viii.
125, 126.
Rauschnick,
275, 277.
Gourg. 84,
85. Die
Grosse
Chron. iii.
303, 305.

21.
Repulse of
the Prussians
by the Old
Guard.

General Mouton, who commanded there, was soon driven back, but he retired in squares in excellent order; and Napoleon, seeing the progress of the Prussians, detached Count Lobau with seven thousand infantry to arrest their advance. Lobau's men in their turn drove back the Prussians; but Bulow, rallying on his two other divisions, which had now come up, again returned to the charge. The artillery cleared the wood, and arranged

themselves on its skirts ; sixty Prussian guns opened their fire, and their balls fell on the chaussée of Charleroi, in the very line of the French communications. Planchenoit, the bulwark of the French right flank, was carried. Napoleon upon this detached first Duhesme with two brigades of infantry, and twenty-four guns of the Young Guard, who retook that important post ; the Prussians again carried it ; and at last Morand, with four battalions of the Old Guard and sixteen guns, was pushed forward to support Lobau and retake the village. These redoubted veterans restored the combat ; Planchenoit was regained : Bulow was driven back into the wood ; the balls ceased to fall on the chaussée, and the French flank appeared to be sufficiently secured. At six o'clock, Blucher received despatches from Thielman, that he was attacked by a superior force, and hard pressed at Wavre ; but the Field-Marshal's masterly mind at once perceived that it was at Waterloo, not Wavre, that the contest was to be decided ; and, without suffering himself to be a moment distracted, even by disaster in his rear, he continued to urge on every man and gun in the direction of the tremendous cannonade which resounded from Waterloo.¹

But although Napoleon's flank was thus protected for the time, yet, as he had intelligence that another corps of Prussians, under Ziethen, was coming up by Ohain on the right, and, notwithstanding repeated orders sent to him, no advices had been received of Grouchy to oppose these, he resolved to make a grand effort with his Middle and Old Guard, supported by the whole remaining cuirassiers and cavalry, and Reille and D'Erlon's corps on either flank, against the British centre, in hopes of piercing it through, and destroying Wellington before the bulk of the Prussian forces came up. At the same time he determined, even in the middle of the battle, to undertake the perilous attempt of a new formation of his troops, turning on the pivot of the centre, with the right drawn back so as to make head against the new enemy that was approaching. With this view he recalled several of the battalions and batteries of the Guard which had been detached to Planchenoit, and Drouot received orders to arrange the eight battalions of the Old Guard on the chaussée beside La Belle Alliance. The cavalry on the

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¹ Clausewitz, viii. 126, 128. Rauschnick, Bluchers Leben, 275, 277. Nap. Book ix. 154, 155. Gourg. 84, 85. Kausler, 681. Vict. et Conq. xxiv. 218, 219. Beamish, ii. 374, 375. Cap. ii. 195, 196. Plotho, iv. 59, 62. Siborne, ii. 125, 136, 137. Die Grosse Chron. iii. 305, 307.

22.

New formation by Napoleon, and state of the two armies at the beginning of the last charge.

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¹ Die Grosse
Chron. iii.
306, 307.
Gourg. 91,
92. Vaud.
iv. 46, 47.
Nap. Book
ix. Siborne,
ii. 136, and
194. Vetter,
ii. 323.

23.
Anxiety and
hopes in the
British line.

heights who saw this movement, and beheld at the same time the retreat of Bulow's corps, now deemed the battle gained, and loudly cheered: it was thought that the final charge of the Old Guard, then arranged as if for immediate action would, as on all former occasions, decide the victory. This confidence, however, was far from being shared by the French troops actually engaged; some of them retreated without orders, and anxiety and distrust generally prevailed. Nor was Napoleon without disquietude: he had no reserve left except the Guard; and, to Ney's urgent request for more troops, he answered hastily, "Où voulez-vous que j'en prenne? voulez-vous que j'en fasse?"¹

Uneasiness also, in at least an equal degree, prevailed in the British line. Halket's brigade had sustained eleven charges of horse; the two brigades of heavy horse had suffered dreadfully; many of the regiments were reduced to mere skeletons; Picton's Highland brigade could not muster six hundred bayonets; multitudes of wounded had crawled to the rear; and the waggon-drivers and Belgian fugitives, crowding along the road through the forest of Soignies, spread the report that all was lost. When Vivian's and Vandeleur's brigades of horse, which had not been as yet seriously engaged, were, towards the close of the action, brought from the left to the rear of the right centre, on which the principal weight of the contest had fallen, they were strongly impressed with the wreck and devastation of so many strong corps which there met their eyes. "Where is your brigade?" said the former of these officers to Lord Edward Somerset, who rode up to receive him. "There," replied Lord Edward, pointing to a cluster of horsemen, scarce a hundred in number, who were drawn up still in regular array around three standards. Ponsonby's brigade was reduced to a single squadron; those two brigades which went into action two thousand strong, could now hardly muster two hundred sabres.* The infantry in all the British squares still stood firm; but the diminished fronts, and frequent order "close up!" which was mechanically obeyed as on parade, told how fearfully their ranks were thinned. One general

* A large part, however, were wounded, or sent to the rear with the wounded, and rejoined their colours next day.

officer was compelled to state that his brigade was reduced to a third of its numbers, and that the survivors were so exhausted with fatigue, that a temporary relief was indispensable: "Tell him," said the Duke, "what he asks is impossible: He and I, and every Englishman on the field, must die on the spot which we now occupy." "Enough," returned the general: "I, and every man under my command, will share his fate." Wellington, however, though calm, was anxious: all his orders were given with his usual quick decided manner; but he repeatedly looked at his watch, and expressed afterwards the satisfaction he felt as one hour of daylight after another slipped away, and the position was still maintained.^{1*}

The Imperial Guard, which, after the detachment to Planchenoit, still consisted of eight battalions of the Middle and four of the Old Guard, with the exception of two of the Old Guard which were kept in reserve, was divided into two columns. One was drawn up near the enclosure of Hougomont, supported by cuirassiers, and consisted of four battalions of the Middle and two of the Old Guard. The second, consisting of the four battalions of the Middle Guard, was stationed near La Belle Alliance. They were both directed to converge to the decisive point on the British right centre, about midway between La Haye Sainte and the nearest enclosures of Hougomont. Reille was ordered to bring all his troops to aid this grand attack, and formed its left wing, while D'Erlon did the same on the right. The former arranged, accordingly, the whole infantry and cavalry which remained of his corps in columns of attack, and advanced up the hill in a slanting direction, beside the orchard of Hougomont. The second column of the Middle Guard, marshalled by Napoleon, was headed for the attack by Ney in person; and received directions, after moving down the chaussée of Charleroi to the bottom of the descent, to incline to the left, and, leaving La Hay Sainte to the right, mount the slope, also in a slanting direction, converging towards the same point whither the other column was directing its steps.† The artillery of the Guard did not, as

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¹ Siborne ii. 145, 146, 158. Gourg. 91, 92. Vaud. iv. 46, 47. Scott's, Paul's Letters, 149, 150. Nap. Book ix. 166, 167.

24.

Preparations for a grand attack of the Guard.

* He still felt, however, and expressed to all the troops whom he addressed, confidence in the final result. "Hard pounding this, gentlemen," said he; "but we will pound the longest."—*Paul's Letters*, 149.

† The Guard was arranged thus:—"L'Empereur les fit se former ainsi, un bataillon en bataille en ayant, deux en colonnes serrées sur les flancs; formation qui réunissait les avantages de l'ordre mince et de l'ordre profond."—GOURGAUD, 91.

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¹ Gourg. 89,
91. Vaud.
iv. 53, 54.
Nap. ix. 167.
Kausler, 681.
Die Grosse
Chron. iii.
309, 312.

25.
Wellington's
dispositions
to receive
the attack.

² Vaud. iv.
53, 54.
Kausler, 681.
Nap. Book
ix. 167, 168.
Beamish, ii.
375, 376.
Cap. ii. 195,
196. Gourg.
88, 89. Tém.
Ocul. Jones'
Waterloo,
138. Scott's
Paul's
Letters, 157,
158. Vetter,
ii. 324. Die
Grosse
Chron. iii.
310, 311.

on former occasions, precede the columns, but took a position on either flank of the heights from which they descended, and opened a dreadful fire on the British batteries. The reason of this was, that in moving up the hill, their fire would have been misdirected over the heads of the British, and lost. Napoleon went with the second column of the Middle Guard as far as the place where it left the hollow of the high road, and spoke a few words—the last he ever addressed to his soldiers—to each battalion in passing. The men moved on with shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* so loud as to be heard along the whole British line above the roar of artillery, and it was universally thought the Emperor himself was heading the attack.¹

But, meanwhile, Wellington had not been idle. Hill, who commanded the British right, gradually brought up all his troops into action, or close in the rear of the columns engaged. Sir Frederic Adam's brigade, consisting of the 52d, 71st, and 2d and 3d battalions, 95th, and General Maitland's brigade of Guards, which had been drawn from Hougomont, with Chassé's Dutch troops, yet fresh, were ordered to wheel to the left, with their guns in front, towards the edge of the ridge; and the whole batteries in that quarter inclined inwards, so as to expose the enemy's columns coming up to a concentric fire. The central point, where the attack seemed likely to fall, was strengthened by nine nine-pounders, under Captain Bolton; sixty pieces in all, including those on the flanks, were brought to bear on the attacking columns of the enemy. The troops on either side of the central battery of nine-pounders were drawn up four deep, in the form of an interior angle; the Guards forming one side, flanked by Adam's men, Halket's brigade, consisting of the 73d, 30th, 33d, and 69th, the other, with two Nassau battalions in the first line; while the light cavalry brigades of Vivian and Vandeleur, with Dornberg's dragoons, and the remains of Ponsonby's and Somerset's, were brought up behind the line at the back of La Haye Sainte, and stationed close in the rear, so as to be ready to make the most of any advantage which might occur, or assail the head of the French column if it forced its way through the infantry in front.²

Napoleon, according to his usual custom, supported the attack of the Guard by a flank one from other troops;

and they advanced in *échelon*, Donzelot's division of D'Erlon's corps leading the assault, and the Middle Guard following in succession. The French troops ascended the slope, as usual, with great gallantry, preceded by a cloud of *tirailleurs*; and they were met by Ompteda's brigade of the King's German Legion and some Hanoverian and Nassau troops in column, the 95th and 4th Regiments and some other British corps being in line. But the Nassau men having evinced some hesitation as the dense column approached, the skeleton remains of the Scots Greys and 3d King's German Legion, with Vivian's brigade, were stationed close in their rear, in order to give a greater appearance of consistence to this part of the line. The British guns, however, placed there were so disabled that they were unable to keep up any thing like an effective fire on the enemy; and, in consequence, the French column pushing forward, covered by a cloud of *tirailleurs* on either flank, opened so heavy a discharge on the 27th that in a few minutes half its numbers were struck down; while their guns opened grape with such effect on Kielmansegge's Hanoverians at a hundred yards' distance, that the square, which still held its ground with great resolution, soon dwindled to a mere clump of men. The Prince of Orange, seeing the danger, gallantly advanced at the head of two Nassau battalions; but he was struck down by a wound in the shoulder, and the Nassau troops, overwhelmed by the severity of the fire, recoiled in disorder. Upon this, Wellington moved up five Brunswick battalions; but they too were assailed by so fierce a fire from the head of the French column, that they fell back in confusion. Wellington instantly hastened to the spot, and by the electrifying influence of his voice and gestures, succeeded in rallying the Germans, who re-formed, and opened so heavy a fire on the French column, that its advance was checked. At the same time the retreat of the Nassau men was stopped by the 10th hussars; and being encouraged by the close line of horse in their rear, they again stood their ground, and resumed their fire. At this instant, the Hanoverians and King's German Legion on the left, led by Kielmansegge, dashed forward in double quick time, with drums beating; the Brunswickers again advanced;¹ the Nassau men caught the generous flame, and, loudly cheered by

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26.

Donzelot's
attack pre-
ceding that
of the Guard.

¹ Siborne, ii.
152, 160.
Beamish, ii.
376, 390.
Gourg. 90.
91. Vaud.
iv. 55, 57.
Grolm. Dan.
i. 302, 304.
Die Grosse
Chron. iii.
311.

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27.
First attack
of the Im-
perial Guard.

the hussars who followed in close support, returned to the charge. By their united efforts, Donzelot's column was, after a fierce struggle, forced back, and the Allied line advanced to the ground it had previously occupied on the crest of the ridge.

It was a quarter past seven when the first column of the Guard, consisting of four strong battalions of the Middle Guard, which advanced from the Charleroi road, moved forward to the attack. The veterans of Wagram and Austerlitz were there ;* no force on earth seemed capable of resisting them ; they had decided every former battle. The sun was low in the heavens when this formidable body began to ascend the slope. The shadow of the mass before his level rays augmented its awful impression. The huge caps of the grenadiers seemed a dark forest, slowly rolling on like " Birnam wood to Dunsinane ;" and though it occasionally rocked under the terrible fire of the English artillery, yet the shock was quickly recovered. The ranks closed as gaps were made ; and through the smoke and fire of the tirailleurs, the sable plumes of the grenadiers were seen unceasingly approaching. The British felt that the decisive moment had arrived ; their honour, their country, was at stake ; a few paces more, and Europe was enslaved. The French were inspired with the utmost confidence. Ney marched at their head : Drouot was beside him, to whom the marshal repeatedly said, they were about to gain a glorious victory. General Friant, who commanded the grenadiers of the Guard, was struck down by Ney's side. The marshal's own horse was shot under him ; but bravely advancing on foot with his drawn sabre in his hand, he sought death from the enemy's volleys. The impulse of this massy column was at first irresistible. The guns on the sides tore its flank without checking its advance. The lofty bearskins of the grenadiers, as they crowned the summit of the ridge amidst the smoke, gave them the appearance of giants. Meanwhile, the fire of the tirailleurs on the flank of the attacking column was so biting, that many of Adam's gunners were driven from their pieces.¹ The head of the French column had reached the crest of the ridge, and the Imperial

¹ Maxwell, iii. 299.
Siborne, ii. 166, 171.
Vict. et Conq. xxiv. 220.

* No one was admitted into the Guard, Young or Old, until he had served twelve campaigns.

Guard came up to within forty paces of the English Foot-Guards, in the very apex of the interior angle in which they were formed; while the loud roll of the drums, and louder cheers of the men, told that they deemed the victory gained, and Napoleon's throne re-established.

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The British soldiers were lying down in a ditch three feet deep behind the rough road which there goes along the summit of the ridge. "*Up, Guards, and at them!*" cried the Duke, who had repaired to the spot, addressing Maitland, who commanded the household troops; and the whole on both sides of the angle into which the French were advancing, springing up, moved forward a few paces, and poured in a volley so close and well-directed, that nearly the whole first two ranks of the Imperial Guards fell at once. A rapid and well-sustained fusillade ensued, which the French, crowded in column, in vain strove to answer with effect. The feeble fire of their leading files was returned by a sustained stream of musketry; while Adam's artillerymen, who worked their guns with extraordinary rapidity, firing grape and canister within fifty paces on their flank, at length staggered the column, which gave ground, and began to recoil down the slope. The word "*Charge!*" was now given to the English Guards; the men, loudly cheering, moved on in double quick time; but the French, shattered and embarrassed, rolled back in confusion, and, leaving a long train of killed and wounded on their track, sought shelter at the bottom of the slope; while the British, checking their pursuit when half-way down the slope, again resumed their position behind the crest of the ridge, though in some disorder from the vehemence of their onset.¹

28.
Its defeat by
the English
Guards.

¹ Siborne, ii.
166, 171.
Maxwell's
Life of Wel-
lington, iii.
399, 400.
Vict. et
Conq. xxiv.
220, 221.
United Serv.
Journal,
Oct. 1843, p.
289.

The second column of the Guard, which had been formed near Hougomont, now advanced to the attack, consisting of four battalions of the Middle, and two of the Old Guard;* in all, three thousand strong, supported by Reille's column, which advanced from the side of Hougomont. The dense body moved up the hill with a slow but steady step. Without taking their muskets from their shoulders, the men, preceded by a cloud of tirailleurs,

29.
Last attack of
the Middle
and Old
Guard.

* The 1st and 2d battalions of the 4th regiment of chasseurs; the 1st and 2d battalions of the 4th regiment of grenadiers; and the 1st and 2d battalions of the 1st regiment of chasseurs.

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marched unshrinkingly, and with loud cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" into the cross-fire of the English batteries. For a moment a feeling of anxiety, not of fear, pervaded the British ranks. At the sound of their cheers, which were loud and long, the Belgians of D'Aubrun's brigade, which were posted in the rear of Maitland's men, panic-struck, gave way, and fell back in the utmost confusion on Vandeleur's horse, which were drawn up close behind them. Vandeleur, however, rapidly closed his ranks and hindered them from getting through; and at that instant Wellington came up and rallied them in person. Soon the effects of his admirable dispositions became conspicuous. The discharges of the artillery on the flank of the column were so severe, that the French pushed forward a body of horse in order to silence them; and in this, they partially succeeded. Wellington instantly ordered Cox's squadron of the 23d to descend the hill in the rear of Adam's men, and charge them. Cox first attacked the body of cuirassiers who, though checked by the guns, were again preparing to advance, and routed them. Continuing to advance, he assailed in flank, and was repulsed by a column of infantry directly in rear of the Guard. The French battalions, now completely uncovered, showed their long flank to Adam's guns, which opened on them a fire so terrible, that the head of the body, constantly pushed on by the mass in rear, for long seemed never to advance, but melted away as it came into the scene of carnage.¹

¹ United
Serv. Journ.
Aug. 1833.
p. 311.
Beam. ii. 317,
Nap. Book
ix. 168.
Gourg. 90,
91. Siborne,
ii. 175.

30.
Its defeat
by Adam's
brigade.

With dauntless intrepidity, however, the Guard advanced through the storm; and at length, the mass behind strongly pressing on over the dead and wounded in front, the huge body reached the top of the hill, directly in front of the right of Maitland's brigade, and Bolton's battery, now commanded by Napier, which kept up upon them a dreadful fire of grape and canister. Instantly the Guards advanced to the crest of the ridge; the French cheered, fired, and moved on. The British in silence threw in a terrible volley, on receiving which the two front ranks of the Imperial Guard went down like grass before the scythe. Wellington at this decisive instant ordered Adam's brigade to advance against the flank of the column; and soon after directed Vivian with his brigade

to descend in the rear of Adam's men, between the Guard and Hougomont, and Vandeleur to follow him. The effect of this attack at once in front and in flank was decisive. The 52d, led on by Colborne, who had anticipated Wellington's orders, swiftly converging inwards, threw in so terrible a volley on their left flank, that the Imperial Guard swerved in disorder to the right.* By this brilliant advance of Adam's brigade, the column of the Guard was entirely separated from Reille's, who was moving up in échelon near Hougomont to support it. The broken remains of the former, closely pursued by Adam at the point of the bayonet, were hurled back on the other side, and all rallying was rendered impossible.† The cry "Tout est perdu—la Garde est repoussée!"‡ arose in the French ranks; and the enormous mass, driven headlong down the hill towards the Charleroi road, carried away in its slanting course D'Erlon's columns, and spread disorder through the whole of Napoleon's centre.¹

From morning till night on this eventful day, the British squares had stood as if rooted in the earth, enduring every loss and repelling every attack with unparalleled fortitude. But the instant of victory had now arrived; the last hour of Napoleon's empire had struck. At the very moment that the last column of the Middle Guard was recoiling in disorder down the hill, with their flanks reeling under the fire of the Guards and Adam's men, Wellington beheld Blucher's standards in the wood beyond Ohain; and the fire of guns from thence to Frischermont showed that Ziethen had come up, and

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¹ Vetter, ii. 324, 325.
Die Grosse Chron. iii. 314, 316.
Siborne, ii. 175, 177.
United Serv. Journ. Aug. 1833, 311, 316.
Beam. ii. 377.
Nap. Book ix. 168. Cap. ii. 197, 198.
Gourg. 90, 91. Vict. et Conq. xxiv. 217, 218.
Vaud. iv. 53, 54. Jones' Waterloo, ii. 61.

31.
Arrival of another Prussian corps, and general advance of the British.

* "When the Imperial Guard, led by Ney, about half-past seven o'clock, made their appearance from a corn-field in close columns of grand divisions, nearly opposite, and within fifty yards from the muzzles of the guns, orders were given to load with canister-shot, and literally five rounds were fired with this species of shot before they showed the least symptom of retiring. At the 29th round, their left gave way."—*Letter of an Artillery Officer, given in MAXWELL*, iii. 491.

† The loss sustained by the French Guard on this occasion was enormous.—"Au milieu des débris de l'armée Anglo-Hollandaise, entourée par son feu, elle éprouva le même sort que la redoutable et victorieuse colonne Anglaise de Fontenoy. Le Général Mallet, qui conduisait le troisième régiment de chasseurs, les Majors Cardinal, Angelet, Agnes, la plupart des commandeurs des compagnies, tombèrent morts—presque tous les officiers furent blessés. Sur un millier d'hommes dont se composait le troisième régiment de chasseurs, il ne resta plus que sept cents sur le terrain. Le premier bataillon du troisième des grenadiers, les bataillons du quatrième régiment de chasseurs et grenadiers, eurent plus de mille hommes hors de combat. Ces vaillans et malheureux débris se retirèrent avec ordre au pied de la hauteur; ils avaient perdu leur force numérique, mais non leur courage."—*Victoires et Conquêtes*, xxiv. 221.

‡ "All is lost—the Guard is repulsed."

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1 Siborne, ii.
204, 206.
Vaud. iv. 55,
56. Jones, ii.
138, 139.
Nap. ix. 168,
169.

that the Prussians in great strength, and in good earnest, were now about to take a part in the fight. He instantly ordered a general advance in the formation in which they stood—the British in line, four deep, the Germans and Belgians in column or square; and himself, with his hat in his hand raised high in air, rode to the front and waved on the troops. Like an electric shock, the heart-stirring order was communicated along the line; confidence immediately revived; wounds and dead comrades were forgotten; one only feeling, that of exultation, filled every breast. The remnants of colours were every where raised aloft and waved by joyous hands; trumpets and drums sent forth their heart-stirring sounds; the ranks rapidly filled with the stragglers; such even of the wounded as could walk hurried to the front to share in the glorious triumph. With bounding steps the whole line pressed forward as one man at the command of their chief; and the last rays of the sun glanced on forty thousand men, who, with a shout which caused the very earth to shake, streamed over the summit of the hill.¹

32.
Success of the
Prussians.

The French, who had believed that the British infantry were wholly destroyed, from not having seen them for so long a period on the crest of the ridge, were thunderstruck when they beheld this immense body advance majestically in line, driving before them the last column of the Imperial Guard who had made the attack.* At the same time, Bulow's and Ziethen's corps of Prussians, of whom six-and-thirty thousand had already come up, emerged entirely from the wood, and advanced with a swift step and in the finest order, in the double-necked column then peculiar to their country, to join in the attack. A hundred guns, arranged in the form of an

* “ Nous les avons vus au jour de notre désastre ces enfans d'Albion formés en bataillons carrés dans la plaine entre le bois de Hougomont et le village de Mont St Jean; la cavalerie qui les appuyait fut taillée en pièces; le feu de leur artillerie fut éteint: la mort était devant eux et dans leur rang—la honte derrière. En cette terrible occurrence, les boulets de la Garde Imperiale, lancés à brûle pourpoint, et la cavalerie de France victorieuse, ne pouvaient pas entamer l'immobile infanterie Britannique—on eut été tenté de croire qu'elle avait pris racine dans la terre, si les bataillons ne s'étoient ébranlés majestueusement quelques minutes après le coucher du soleil, alors que l'arrivée de l'armée Prussienne apprit à Wellington que, grâce au nombre, grâce à la force d'inertie, et pour prix d'avoir su ranger des braves gens en bataille, il venait de remporter la victoire la plus décisive de notre age.”—Foy, i. 323, 324.

amphitheatre on the skirts of the wood, opened a tremendous fire over their heads, and the balls soon began to fall in the midst of the French army, on the *chaussée* of La Belle Alliance. Despair now seized upon the French soldiers; they saw at once that all was lost, and horse, foot, and cannon, breaking their ranks, fled tumultuously towards the rear; while the British cavalry, still four thousand strong, poured in every direction down the slope, cutting down those who attempted to resist, and driving before them the mass of fugitives who strove to keep their ranks.¹

Still, however, the Old Guard stood firm; for the two battalions of that far-famed body forming the rear of the last attacking column, had not reached the terrible fire which had proved fatal to those in their front, and, instead of moving in disorder to the right before Adam's men, had detached themselves and retired in good order to their comrades in the rear. The two battalions also, which, as formerly mentioned, had been left in reserve, in perfect array of squares, fresh and unscathed, supported by a strong body of cuirassiers on either flank with artillery in the interstices, presented not only a formidable body to cover the rallying of the Middle Guard, but formed the head of a column which might have succeeded, like that of Desaix at Marengo, in restoring the battle, and converting incipient defeat into ultimate victory. But now the effects of Wellington's admirable foresight, in having marched forward Vivian and Vandeleur's brigades at the time of the advance of Adam's infantry on the flank of the Middle Guard, became conspicuous. Vivian reached the bottom of the hollow at the time when the second column of the Guard was recoiling in disorder down the hill; and Napoleon, after rallying in person the broken battalions of the Middle Guard who had constituted the first column of attack, which he formed in three squares, on a height commanding the Charleroi road, pushed forward the only remaining light horse at his disposal to check the brigade, but they were quickly overthrown. Upon this the dauntless cuirassiers advanced and formed in line in front and on flank of the Old Guard;² but, wearied with their previous efforts, and discouraged by the repulse of the Middle

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¹ Siborne, ii. 204, 206.
Nap. ix. 168, 169. Tém.
Ocul. Jones' Waterloo, 138, 139.
Vaud. iv. 55, 56. Jom. iv. 637. Ney's Account to Fouché, June 26, 1815. Gneisenau's Account, Jones, i. 206.

33.

Attack on, and rout of the reserve of the Old Guard.

² Crisis of Waterloo, United Serv. Journ. Sept. 1833, part ii. 311, 314.
Gourg. 92, 93. Moniteur, 21st June 1815.
Napoleon's Official Account. Die Grosse Chron. iii. 315, 316.
Grolm. Dam. i. 366. Vetter, ii. 324.

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34.
Immence
effect of this
advance.

Guard, they were in no condition to withstand the vehement onset of the British hussars.

Vivian charged in échelons of regiments, the 10th, headed by himself, leading ; and, with that regiment, the dispersed and drove in the cavalry posted in the front and left of the squares of the Old Guard. No sooner was this done, than that gallant officer, galloping to his left, led on the 18th also in person against the cavalry of De Lorte, which was on the right of that veteran body, the first German Legion following in succession. In a few minutes, the dazzling helmets of the cuirassiers, and spears of the lancers were seen scattered in disorder and flying in every direction. At the same time, the 2d King's German Legion, which Wellington had moved up to support Vivian, successfully charged a body of cuirassiers on the right of the 10th ; and, though this corps was in its turn assailed by fresh cuirassiers, and thrown into disorder, it quickly rallied, and soon drove the French horse off that part of the field. The squares of the Guard were by this laid bare, and the artillery in the intervals opened a heavy fire on the British horse ; but Vivian, dashing on, captured the guns, twenty-four in number, before any foot-soldier on his left arrived ; and, at this moment, seeing the Osnaburg red-coats coming up, he ventured to attack the squares. Such was the vehemence of the men, that a squadron of the 10th re-formed after taking the artillery, and charged one of the squares with unparalleled vehemence. That attack, however, after a short struggle, was repulsed by the steady fire of these veteran grenadiers. The square, nevertheless, fell back after the shock, still keeping up a rolling fire on their opponents, who never ceased to cut at them till they were lost in the refluent crowd of fugitives. About this time, Vandeleur's brigade coming up, charged upon Vivian's right, defeated a body of French infantry who were formed in square, and endeavouring to restore the battle in that quarter. They captured a battery of guns, which was the last that maintained the cannonade on the French left ; and then, pushing on rather in advance of Vivian, headed the pursuit.¹*

¹ Siborne, ii. 207, 209, 230. United Serv. Journ. Sept. 1833, 311, 314. Gourg. 92, 93. Napoleon, Bulletin, Moniteur. 21st June 1815.

* Napoleon and Gourgaud both ascribe the loss of the battle to this happy charge of Vivian's brigade on the flank of the Old Guard, after the repulse of

Meanwhile Wellington, who led the advance of the infantry, galloped to the head of Adam's brigade, which was moving on four deep in line, pursuing the broken remains of the second column of the Middle Guard, which had now swerved to the hollow on the French left of the chaussée of Charleroi. At the same time, the Osnaburg Hanoverian battalion of Landwehr, under Colonel Halket, which had closely followed the unbroken column of the two battalions of the Old Guard who had joined in the last attack, and were now retiring in good order towards the Charleroi road, came up with these undaunted antagonists. The English general, who observed the confusion of the body of fugitives which was crowding off to the rear, around the rallied squares of the Middle Guard, and the beautiful order in which Vivian's brigade was advancing on his left, ordered Adam to attack them. "Go on, Colborne," said his Grace—"go on: they won't stand: don't give them time to rally." On approaching the Guard, they were received with a heavy fire from its veteran ranks, and the shot flew fast round the Duke. "This is no place for you," said Sir Colin Campbell,

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35.

Defeat of the
Old Guard
by Adam's
brigade and
the Osnaburg
battalion.

the Middle. "Le soleil," says Gourgaud, the Emperor's aid-de-camp, "était couché—rien n'était désespéré, lorsque deux brigades de cavalerie ennemie, qui n'avaient pas encore donné, pénétrèrent entre La Haie Sainte et le corps du Général Reille. Elles auraient pu être arrêtées par les huit carrés de la Garde: mais voyant le grand désordre qui regnait à la droite, elles les tournèrent. *Ces trois mille chevaux empêchèrent tout ralliement*; l'Empereur ordonna à ses quatre escadrons de service de les charger—ces escadrons étaient trop peu nombreux: il aurait fallu toute la division de cavalerie de réserve de la Garde: et par un malheur qui tenait à fatalité de ce jour, cette division de deux mille grenadiers à cheval et dragons, tous gens d'élite, s'étaient engagés sur le plateau sans l'ordre de l'Empereur. Il n'y eut plus, alors, aucun moyen de rallier les troupes; les quatre escadrons culbutés, la confusion ne fit qu'augmenter."—GOURGAUD, *Campagne de 1815*, 92, 93.

To the same purpose Napoleon says in his despatch, written the day after the battle—"Sur les huit heures et demie, les quatre bataillons de la Moyenne Garde qui avaient été envoyés sur le plateau au-delà de Mont St Jean pour soutenir les cuirassiers, étant gênés par sa mitraille, marchèrent à la bayonnette pour enlever ses batteries. Le jour finissait, *une charge faite sur leur flanc par plusieurs escadrons Anglais* les mirent en désordre; les fuyards repassèrent le ravin, les régimens voisins, qui virent quelques troupes appartenant à la Garde à la débandade, crurent que c'était de la Vieille Garde, et s'ébranlèrent: les cris, 'Tout est perdu—la Garde est repoussée!' se firent entendre: une terreur panique se repandit tout à-la-fois sur tout le champ de bataille."—NAPOLÉON, *Bulletin sur la Bataille de Mont St Jean*, 21^{me} Juin 1815: *Moniteur*, 22^{me} Juin; and GOLDSMITH'S *Recueil*, vii. 263.

In the preceding account of the repulse of the Imperial Guard at Waterloo, I have, in addition to the authorities quoted in the margin, availed myself of the information of three gallant officers who combated at the spot: Colonel Warrington of the 10th hussars, who was engaged in the charges on the Old Guard, Captain Ross of the 73d, the fire of whose company, with that of the Guards, brought down their leading files; and Captain Wilson of the artillery, who was with the nine guns in the apex of the triangle directly in their front.

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¹ Siborne, ii.
195, 211.
United Serv.
Journ. Sept.
1833, 311,
314. Napo-
leon's Official
Account,
21st June
1815. Moni-
teur.

36.
Flight of
Napoleon
from the field,
and final
overthrow of
the Old
Guard.

who observed the danger of the English general; "you had better move." "I will," replied the Duke, "when I have seen those fellows off." This soon happened. The Guard, impressed with the steady advance of Adam's brigade, moved to the rear, but now slowly and in good order; while the column opposed to the Osnaburg battalion also retired. A battery of six guns having severely galled the flank of this battalion as it advanced in pursuit of the Old Guard, a rush was made upon them by the flank company, by whom they were quickly carried. About the same time, the main body of the English line, which was still considerably in rear, came up to the front of the original French position, where the guns whose execution had been so severely felt by the Allies were placed. In the general confusion they could not be drawn off; and soon loud shouts from the left announced that the whole of D'Erlon's batteries had fallen into the hands of the British! ¹

Napoleon witnessed this terrible reverse with feelings which it is impossible to describe; but he still preserved his calm demeanour till the Old Guard recoiled in disorder, with the British cavalry mingled with their bayonets. He then became as pale as death, and observed to the guide, "*Ils sont mêlés ensemble.*"* There was not a moment, however, to lose; for the English horsemen, sweeping up the French side of the slope in great masses, already threatened to envelope him on either flank; and the rapid advance of Bulow, who had now carried Planchenoit, after a violent struggle, would very soon cut off his retreat. He instantly ordered the four squadrons in attendance on his person to charge the British horse, who were thundering in close pursuit; but they were quickly overthrown; and, being driven back on the squares of the Guard who were now in full retreat, augmented the general confusion. The Emperor then ascended a small elevation, and there himself directed the fire of four pieces of cannon, which were worked to the last, and one of the discharges of which carried off Lord Uxbridge's leg, close by Wellington's side. The rapid approach of the English and Prussians, however, soon rendered this post untenable. Napoleon then placed

* "They are mingled together."

himself in front of the "Grenadiers à cheval," one of the steadiest regiments of his Guard; and that noble regiment, impressed with its charge, continued to retreat leisurely at a foot's pace, without breaking their ranks amidst the frightful confusion, till the Emperor was beyond the reach of danger. Turning then to Bertrand, he said, "Tout à present est fini! Sauvons-nous;"* and setting spurs to his horse, fled across the fields in great haste, attended only by a few followers. The Emperor was already several miles from the field of battle, when the Guard, still in that extremity reluctant to flee, formed themselves in squares, and strove to stem the tide of disorder. It was then that the celebrated words were used by some of their number when called on to surrender, "The Guard dies, but never surrenders!" But it was all in vain. The British cavalry, led by Vivian and Vandeleur, who now headed the pursuit, charged upon their flanks; Adam and Halket continued steadily advancing upon them; the mass of fugitives overwhelmed their front, and prevented their firing. In a few minutes they were pierced through in every direction, cut down or made prisoners, with their generals, Duhesme, Lobau, and Cambronne. After the Guard was broken, all resistance ceased. Vandeleur's horse, which headed the pursuit, and which had attacked and carried the last French battery that fired on the left, now became so enveloped in the torrent of fugitives, that they were swept along beyond their comrades into the middle of the French army, while their arms, weary with striking, could hardly wield their sabres.¹

Meanwhile a desperate conflict was raging in and around Planchenoit, where Bulow's left wing, aided by part of Pirch's corps, was assailing the steady battalions of Morand's Old Guards, which still held that important post. The church and churchyard were strongly occupied by these noble veterans, who, by the rapidity and precision of their fire, long held at bay the superior masses of the Prussians, who, stimulated alike by past defeat and present victory, poured in on all sides to complete their destruction. Every attack in front was successfully repelled; and it was not till the increasing number of

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¹ Siborne, ii. 234, 237. Gourg. 94, 97. Beam. ii. 378, 379. United Serv. Journ, Oct. 1833, p. 147. Gurw. xi. 482, 483. Nap. Book ix. 171, 172. Vaud. iv. 55, 59. Die Grosse Chron. iii. 334, 336.

37. Planchenoit is carried by the Prussians, after a desperate resistance by the Old Guard.

* "All is now over: let us save ourselves"

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¹ Claus. viii.
126, 129.
Grosse
Chronik. iii.
316, 317.
Siborne, ii.
237, 243
Prussian
Official Ac-
count, Grosse
Chron. iii.
316.

38.
Final wreck
of the French
army.

² Grosse
Chron. iii.
321, 323.
Vaud. iv. 55,
59. Gourg.
96, 97.
Nap. Book
ix. 171, 172.
Wellington's
Official
Desp. Gurw.
xi. 482, 483.
Kausler, 682.
Jom. iv. 637,
638. Claus.
viii. 129.

their assailants enabled them to press them at the same time on both flanks, that the Old Guard, still in good order, began to retire. The chasseurs, under General Pelet, covered the retreat; and, though dreadfully thinned by the fire which fell upon them from all sides, still presented an unbroken front to the enemy. On quitting the enclosures of Planchenoit, this band of heroes, now reduced to two hundred and fifty men, found itself surrounded by large masses of Prussian infantry and cavalry, who had very nearly penetrated to the eagle, in the centre of their ranks. Then Pelet, who commanded, halted his men upon a little rising ground, and called out—"A moi, chasseurs ! sauvons l'Aigle, ou mourons autour d'elle." * The men quickly formed round their undaunted leader, and, closing their ranks, succeeded, with levelled bayonets, in making their way with their eagle untouched, through their enemies, and reached the main line of retreat, though not a fourth part survived the glorious conflict.¹

Blucher now assembling all his superior officers, gave orders to send the last horse and the last man in pursuit of the enemy. The whole French army became one mass of inextricable confusion. The chaussée presented the appearance of an immense shipwreck, covered with a vast mass of cannon, caissons, carriages, baggage, arms, and articles of every kind. All the efforts of the Guard to stem the torrent, or arrest the progress of the victors, were fruitless. They were swept away by the torrent which streamed in resistless force over the whole plain. Never had such a rout been witnessed in modern war. Wellington rode constantly with the advanced posts, regardless of the balls, from friends and foes, which were falling around them. When urged by some of the officers in attendance not to expose himself so much, he replied, "Never mind, let them fire away: the battle's gained!" A noble sentiment, coming from such a man at such a moment. Before the pursuit ceased, a little beyond La Belle Alliance, from the inability of the British, through absolute exhaustion, to continue it, a hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, three hundred and fifty caissons, and six thousand prisoners,² had been cap-

* "To me, chasseurs ! let us save the eagle, or die round it."

tured; and of the vast French army, that morning so brilliant, not two companies were to be found together.

Blucher and Wellington, by a singular chance, met near a hamlet called the Maison du Roi beyond La Belle Alliance, on the road leading to Genappe, and mutually saluted each other as victors. After cordially shaking hands, the English general represented to the Prussian that his men were so exhausted with fighting the whole day, that they were hardly able to continue the pursuit. "Leave that to me," replied Blucher; "I will send every man and horse after the enemy." And in effect Ziethen continued the pursuit without intermission during the whole night. Seven times the wearied French, ready to drop down, tried to form bivouacs; seven times they were roused by the dreadful sound of the Prussian trumpet, and obliged to continue their flight without intermission.* Such was their fatigue that the greater part of the foot soldiers threw away their arms; and the cavalry, utterly dispersing, rode every man for his life across the country. The dejection was universal and extreme. At Genappe some resistance was attempted, and a brisk fire of musketry was kept up for a few minutes from behind a barricade of overturned cannon and carriages. But a few shots from the Prussian horse-artillery soon dispersed the enemy, and the town was taken amidst loud cheers, and with it Napoleon's travelling carriage, private papers, hat, and sword. It was in a field near Quatre Bras that the Emperor first drew bridle, and rested for a few minutes to take a slight refreshment, the first that he had tasted since the morning. Immediately remounting, he rode all night, and reached Charleroi at six in the morning. The fugitives were already pouring over the arches, and after stopping an hour he resumed his flight to Philipville. The torrent—horse, foot, and artillery all intermingled—continued to defile over the bridge at Charleroi during the whole day; but scarcely forty thousand passed the Sambre, and they carried with them only twenty-seven guns. The whole remainder of their artillery fell into the hands of the English on the field of battle, or of the Prussians in the pursuit.¹

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39.

Meeting of
Wellington
and Blucher.
Total rout of
the French.

¹ Grolm.
Dam. i. 318.
Gneisenau's
Account,
206, 207.
Jones'
Waterloo,
Nap. 174,
177. Gourg.
112, 113.
Ploto, iv.
162, 170.
Die Grosse
Chron. iii.
321, 322.

* "Die Franzosen so aus sieben bivouacs nacheinander aufgejagt wurden."—GROLMAN DAMITZ, i. 323.

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40.

Loss of the
Allies at
Waterloo.

The loss of the Allies was immense in this battle. That of the British, King's German Legion, and Hanoverians alone amounted to ten thousand, of whom two thousand and twenty-three were killed. The loss at Waterloo alone on the part of the whole troops engaged, was above twenty-two thousand.* The total loss of Wellington's army, from the 15th to the 19th, was twenty thousand and ninety, including that of the Belgian and German auxiliaries, but exclusive of the Prussians, who lost seven thousand more at Waterloo alone. The magnitude of the loss he had sustained on this occasion excited the most mournful feelings in the breast of the English general, and obliterated for a time all exultation at his triumph.† The Prussian loss on the 16th and 18th,‡ including the action at Wavres on the latter of these days, was thirty-three thousand one hundred and twenty. Of the French army, it is sufficient to say that its loss on the field was at least forty thousand at Waterloo alone; but, in effect, it was totally destroyed, and scarcely any of the men who fought there ever again appeared in arms.¹ After they had passed

¹ Wellington to Lord Bathurst, June 19, 1815. Gurw. xii. 483, 485. Kaus. 683. Plotho, App. 97, 98. Siborne, ii. 352, and 519.

* Viz. :—

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total
British, - - -	1,417	4,923	582	6,892
King's German Legion, - - -	362	1,009	218	1,589
Hanoverians, - - -	294	1,098	210	1,602
Brunswickers, - - -	154	456	50	660
Nassau, - - -	254	389		643
Belgians, - - -	466	2,054	1,627	3,994
Total, - - -	2,947	9,829	2,687	15,380
Prussian loss, - - -	1,255	4,387	1,386	6,998

Grand total Allied armies, 4,172 14,216 4,093 22,378

SIBORNE, ii. 502, 519; and *Die Grosse Chron.* iii. 337.

† "I cannot express to you the regret and sorrow with which I look around me and contemplate the loss I have sustained, particularly in your brother, (Sir Thomas Gordon.) The glory resulting from such actions so dearly bought is no consolation to me, and I cannot suggest it as any to you, and to his friends."—WELLINGTON to LORD ABERDEEN, 19th June 1815; GURWOOD, xii. 488.

‡ The loss of the Belgians during this short campaign was very severe; it amounted to 4,038 men, killed and wounded: and the Brunswickers lost in the same period 1,505 men. The total loss of Wellington's army during the campaign from the 15th to the 19th June was as follows, giving a clear proof upon whom the weight of the contest fell:—

	Officers.	Men.	Total.
British and King's German Legion, - - -	729	11,339	12,068
Hanoverians, - - -	117	1,919	2,036
Belgians, - - -	144	3,894	4,038
Brunswickers, - - -	59	1,446	1,505
Nassau, - - -	24	619	643
	1,049	18,598	20,290

—PLOTHO, iv. 78, 79, App.; and *Die Grosse Chron.* iii. 335, 337.

the Sambre and regained their own country, the troops became utterly desperate ; the infantry dispersing in the villages, the cavalry and artillery selling their horses, and making the best of their way to their respective homes.

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While this terrible battle was raging at Waterloo, Marshal Grouchy, with his corps, was actively engaged with Thielman in the neighbourhood of Wavres. Napoleon's orders to that marshal were, to march upon Sombrefe, and there take a position ; and similar instructions had been given to Count Gerard and Vandamme, who were placed under his orders. Napoleon had also verbally directed him, when he assumed the command, to follow the Prussians, to attack them, and never to lose sight of them. In pursuance of these orders, Grouchy, early on the morning of the 18th, began to press upon Thielman's corps, which was opposed to him ; and after an obstinate resistance, the Prussians were driven back in the direction of Wavres. At noon, the cannonade at Waterloo was distinctly heard in Grouchy's army : Count Gerard strongly urged the marshal to abandon the pursuit of the Prussians, and move towards Waterloo, where it was evident the decisive struggle was going forward. But Grouchy was too well aware of the implicit obedience to orders which the Emperor exacted, to adopt these suggestions ; for he had just received instructions from Soult, dated ten o'clock on the 18th of June, *to continue* his movement on Wavres.* He persisted, accordingly, implicitly to obey his orders, and continued the attack on Wavres till seven o'clock, when a second despatch from Soult, dated one o'clock afternoon, enjoined him to manœuvre on St Lambert, where Bulow's columns had begun to appear.†¹

41.
Action of
Grouchy at
Wavres.

¹ Rauschnick, 278, 279. Sib. ii. 137. Claus. viii. 131, 136. Die Grosse Chron. iii. 340, 345. Plotho, iv. 72, 73.

* "The Emperor desires me to inform you that at this moment he is about to attack the English army, which has taken a position in front of the forest of Soignies. His Majesty *desires that you should direct your movements upon Wavres*, in order to approach us, and conduct our operations in concert, driving before you all the Prussian corps who have taken that direction, or who might stop at Wavres, where you should endeavour to arrive as soon as possible."—SOULT to GROUCHY, 18th June 1815, ten o'clock ; GROUCHY, p. 21.

† Even in this second despatch, however, dated from the field of Waterloo, he was so far from disapproving of Grouchy's movement on Wavres hitherto, that he *expressly approved it*, and only enjoined him for the first time a direction towards Waterloo.

"Vous avez écrit ce matin à deux heures que vous marcheriez sur Sort, à Wallam, donc votre projet était de vous porter à Corbaix ou à Wavres ; *ce mouvement est conforme aux dispositions qui vous ont été communiquées*. Cependant l'Empereur m'ordonne de vous dire que vous devez toujours man-

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He immediately did so: Gerard at the head of his corps forced the passage of the Dyle; while twelve thousand more, under Pajol, also passed the same river, won the opposite heights after severe fighting, and repulsed the rearguard of Bulow, as they had been directed.

42.
Gallant de-
fence of
Wavres by
Thielman.

The defence of Wavres by Thielman, on this occasion, was one of the most skilful and glorious events of the war, fruitful as it was in heroic deeds on both sides. The Prussian force, in consequence of the losses sustained at Ligny, and of six battalions and a battery having lost their way on the march on the following day, and not appearing at all on the field till the contest was over at night, was only fifteen thousand two hundred, and they were assailed by above thirty thousand French. The contest began with a violent cannonade across the Dyle, which was kept up with great spirit on both sides for above an hour, when an attempt was made on the Prussian left to force the bridges of Wavres. Vandamme, who was under Grouchy's orders, devoted his whole corps to this assault, and he was opposed only by four Prussian battalions; but such was their skill and resolution, that they repulsed during the day no less than *thirteen* different assaults by such immensely superior forces. The way in which they did this was very peculiar, and highly interesting. The streets of Wavres lay parallel to the river, and at right angles to those leading up from the bridges. The advanced guard of the Prussians was placed in the houses in front, next the river, and, though driven from the lower, continued to fight with desperate bravery in the upper storeys. The reserves were arranged under cover in the cross streets. Whenever the French columns made their way across through the fire from the houses, these reserves suddenly rushed forward from their covers, and, while those farthest back stopped the advance of the front, the others opened such a fire on the flank of the column, as always drove it back with heavy loss across the bridges.¹ After fighting in this manner from four o'clock till midnight, the bridges were still in the hands

¹ Grolm.
Dam. i. 351,
352. Siborne,
ii 290, 291.
Claus. viii.
133, 137.
Die Grosse
Chron. iii.
356, 361.
Plötho, iv.
75, 76.

ouvrier dans notre direction: c'est à vous à voir le point où nous sommes pour vous régler en conséquence, et pour lier nos communications, ainsi que pour être toujours en mesure pour tomber sur quelques troupes ennemies qui chercheront à inquiéter notre droite."—*Du champ de bataille de Waterloo, le 18, à une heure après midi.*—GROUCHY, p. 24; and SIBORNE, i. 400.

of the Prussians, and the contending troops lay on the opposite banks.

On the following morning, Thielman, who had now heard of the glorious victory on the preceding day, attacked Grouchy at daybreak, but was vigorously repulsed; and Grouchy was preparing to follow up his success and march upon Brussels, when the fatal news arrived of the rout at Waterloo on the preceding day, with orders from the Emperor for Grouchy to retreat upon Laon, and effect a junction there with the remainder of the army. He faithfully obeyed his instructions, and reached that town on the 26th, with thirty-two thousand men and a hundred and eight cannons, having more than repaired his losses by the stragglers whom he picked up during the retreat. It augments the admiration which all must feel at the noble conduct of Marshal Blucher and General Gneisenau on the eventful day of Waterloo, that when they adopted the resolution to unite their whole force, except Thielman's corps, to bear on the decisive point at Waterloo, they were aware of the difficulties in which that general was involved at Wavres. They resolved, however, with equal spirit and generalship, to sacrifice all minor objects, and even endanger their communications, in order to achieve the destruction of Napoleon's great army at Waterloo.¹

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43.

Combat of
the 19th and
retreat of
Grouchy.

¹ Rausch-
nick, 278,
279, 304.
Siborne, ii.
137. Nap.
179, 180.
Gourg. 118,
119.
Grouchy,
53, 54.
Die Grosse
Chron. iii.
367, 368.
Plotho, iv.
79, 80.
Grolm. Dam.
i. 363, 364.

The campaign of Waterloo having been the immediate cause of the overthrow of Napoleon, it has been made, as may well be believed, the subject of unbounded discussion and criticism, both on the Continent and in Great Britain, and equally on the part of the Allied writers as the French. The latter have, as was very natural, strained every nerve to palliate their defeat, partly by exaggerating the forces of their opponents, partly by diminishing their own, and partly by misrepresenting the nature of Marshal Grouchy's operations, and unduly magnifying the effect which would have followed from his having disobeyed his orders, and come up to the field of battle before the conclusion of the fight. The Allied military historians, on the other hand, and particularly the Prussians, have perhaps endeavoured to claim for themselves a larger share than was really due to them in the honours of the

44.

Reflections
on the cam-
paign of
Waterloo.

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conflict, and to underrate what should in fairness be ascribed to the unconquerable firmness of the British troops. The English writers also have not been a whit behind their Continental brethren in exaggeration; and, by seeking to ascribe every thing to their own countrymen, and somewhat unduly keeping out of view the necessary effect of the Prussian co-operation, have gone far to make the Continental readers distrust what really is authentic and undoubted in the exploits of the British troops on that glorious day. A few observations, couched in the spirit, so far as attainable, of historic impartiality, will, it is hoped, show where the truth really lies amidst these conflicting statements.

45.
Wellington
and Blucher
were taken
unawares in
the outset of
the cam-
paign.

I. In the first place, it is evident, whatever the English writers may say to the contrary, that both Blucher and the Duke of Wellington were unexpectedly assailed by Napoleon's invasion of Belgium on the 15th of June; and that he gained in the outset a great, and what had wellnigh proved a decisive, advantage, by that circumstance. It has been already seen, from the Duke's despatches, that on the 9th of June—that is, six days before the invasion took place—he was aware that Napoleon was collecting a great force on the frontier, and he of course could not doubt but that hostilities might soon be expected: and that successive intelligence was transmitted daily, down to the night of the 14th, that an attack might daily, and at last hourly, be expected.¹ Had he and Blucher not been misled by false information, the two armies would immediately have been concentrated, and placed in such a situation that they might mutually, if attacked, lend each other the necessary assistance. Their united force was fully one hundred and ninety thousand effective men; while Napoleon's was not more than one hundred and twenty-five, or, at the utmost, one hundred and thirty thousand. They never would, if aware of the pending invasion, have allowed Blucher to be attacked unawares and isolated at Ligny, whilst deprived of the aid of one of his corps; and have suffered three divisions of British infantry, unsupported by either any adequate cavalry or artillery, to be exposed to the attack of a superior force of French, composed of all the three arms, at Quatre Bras.

¹ Ante, c.
xciii. § 41.

II. It is in vain to say that they could not provide for their troops if they had been concentrated, and that it was necessary to watch every road which led to Brussels. Men do not eat more when drawn together, than when scattered over a hundred miles of country; and although it is much more troublesome to collect provisions for them in the former situation than in the latter, yet that is no sufficient reason for keeping them in cantonments in presence of a powerful and concentrated enemy. Marlborough and Eugene had long ago maintained armies of one hundred thousand men for successive entire campaigns in Flanders; and Blucher and Wellington had no difficulty in feeding one hundred and fifty thousand, drawn close together after the war did commence. Both the Allied generals were too consummate commanders not to know, that it is not by a cordon of troops scattered over seventy-five miles, that the attack of one hundred and twenty-five thousand French, all concentrated, is to be arrested. If the British army had from the first been assembled at Quatre Bras, and Blucher near Ligny, with a hundred and ninety thousand men between them, how could Napoleon have reached Brussels but by fighting his way through both united, or in close co-operation? Napoleon would never have ventured to pass such a force on any road, however unguarded. In truth, the conduct of the British and Prussian generals on this occasion would be inexplicable, if it were not evidently explained, and therefore the ground of criticism removed, by the deceit practised on them in France, which has already been referred to.*

III. It is often said that Wellington was obliged to leave his troops scattered in cantonments down to the very moment of attack, because he did not know by which road he was to be attacked; and if he had concentrated his army when the French accumulated their forces in his front, he could not have guarded every part of the frontier intrusted to him, and the enemy might have penetrated

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46.

Answer to
the objection
to this.

47.

Effect which
would have
resulted from
an earlier
concentration
of the Allied
armies.

* How did Kray arrest for six weeks the advance of Moreau in Bavaria in 1800?—By accumulating his army under the cannon of Ulm. How did Dumourier stop the invasion of the Duke of Brunswick in 1792?—By concentrating his army in the camp of St Ménéhould.—See *Ante*, Chap. x. § 24; and Chap. xxxi. § 20. How did Berthier bring France to the brink of ruin in 1809, when the Archduke Charles invaded Bavaria?—By scattering his troops over an extent of eighty miles. How did Napoleon set matters to rights?—By instantly concentrating them.—See *Ante*, Chap. lvi. § 25.

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unawares to Brussels by some unobserved route. Without stopping to inquire whether a hundred and twenty thousand men, with three hundred and fifty guns, can in this manner slip unobserved past two armies mustering between them a hundred and ninety thousand combatants directly in their front, it seems sufficient to observe that the advance of an enemy into a hostile territory is never so effectually prevented as by a concentrated mass lying on its flank. No experienced general will hazard an advance into an enemy's country, leaving an equal or superior force in a concentrated position on his side or rear. Marlborough's army, in August 1705, occupied the ground on which Blucher fought on the 18th June 1815, and the French were at Soignies and Waterloo, so that he was between them and Paris; but the English general wisely kept his face to them, and never thought of hazarding an incursion into the French territory. Vendôme, after the battle of Oudenarde, lay in the neighbourhood of Ghent, while Eugene and Marlborough were besieging Lille, on the direct road to Paris; but his position there effectually protected the French capital from insult. Kray, in 1800, for six weeks arrested the march of Moreau through Bavaria by keeping his army within the walls of Ulm, though the French general repeatedly passed him, and levied contributions to the very frontiers of Austria. Napoleon was not the man to push on to Brussels, if a hundred and ninety thousand Allies had been concentrated at Quatre Bras and Ligny, on the line of his communications. It was the desperate state of his affairs at the close of the campaign of 1814 in France, which alone prompted the march towards St Dizier and the Rhine, leaving Blucher and Schwartzberg between him and the capital, and he lost his throne in consequence. He would have had little reason to congratulate himself on his campaign, if he had passed the Allies and occupied Brussels, and they had passed him and taken Paris.

48.
Napoleon
gained the
advantage at
first.

IV. It follows from these considerations that, in the outset of the Waterloo campaign, Napoleon, by the secrecy and rapidity of his movements, gained the advantage of Wellington and Blucher. Being superior by nearly seventy thousand troops to those at the command of the

French Emperor, it was their interest never to have fought at a disadvantage, and not to have made a final stand till their two great armies were in a situation mutually to assist and support each other. There seems no reason why this might not have been done by their mutually converging from the frontier, as soon as the invasion commenced, to Waterloo, without abandoning Brussels. This, in truth, was exactly what they *did do* on the 17th, when Wellington retired to Waterloo, and Blucher to near Wavres, by converging lines, which brought them into communication with each other, and produced the decisive success which followed. But even if it had been necessary to evacuate that capital before the union was effected, prudence suggests that it would have been better to have done so, even with all its moral consequences, than to have exposed either army to the chance of serious defeat, in consequence of being singly assailed by greatly superior forces. Nevertheless, Napoleon so managed matters in the outset of the campaign, that, though inferior upon the whole by seventy thousand men to the Allied armies taken together, he was superior to either at the points of attack at Ligny and Quatre Bras. But for the extraordinary circumstance, which was not to be reckoned on, of D'Erlon's corps, twenty-four thousand strong, being marched and countermarched the whole of the 16th without firing a shot either at Quatre Bras or Ligny, he would have gained, on the very first day of the campaign, a victory over both the English and Prussian forces. This is the clearest proof that in the beginning he gained the advantage, and it had wellnigh proved a decisive one, of both his opponents.

V. Napoleon gained this success by the admirable secrecy and rapidity of his movements, which led to the sudden and unforeseen irruption which he made by Charleroi into the heart of his enemy's cantonments; and his plan of detaching part of his force only against the British on his left, and reserving its weight to assail the Prussians on his right, was undoubtedly judicious. But this advantage was speedily lost, and became the forerunner of disaster, by the unaccountable manner in which he followed it up, by *striking at once* against both the British and Prussians, without any adequate central

49.
Error of
Napoleon in
striking at
once against
the right and
left.

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reserve, on which both wings, on an emergency, might rely. His army on the whole being considerably inferior in number to those of his adversaries united, his evident policy was, to have observed the one party, and struck with the weight of his force against the other. This, accordingly, was what he did in substance on the 18th at Wavres and Waterloo. But on the 16th he commenced an attack in person on Blucher at Ligny with seventy-two thousand men, while he detached Ney with forty-six thousand to occupy Quatre Bras—with instructions, it is true, to make only a brisk attack at that point—and then move on as rapidly as possible against Blucher's rear at Ligny. But the consequences of thus *simultaneously* commencing the offensive with *two wings*, without any centre to support them, were soon apparent. The Emperor, to achieve victory at Ligny, was obliged to summon up half of Ney's force under D'Erlon to menace the Prussian right; while Ney, stubbornly resisted at Quatre Bras, found himself compelled in the evening to *recall* the same corps, before it had fired a shot against the Prussians, to avert entire defeat from the increasing forces of Wellington. It was to this extraordinary circumstance that the loss of the campaign to Napoleon is in a great degree to be ascribed.

50.
For which
he alone is
responsible.

VI. Neither commander was to blame for these contradictory orders, *when the plan was once fixed on*: for Napoleon had need of the countenance of D'Erlon, to support his grand attack on Blucher's centre; and Ney could only avoid defeat at Quatre Bras by the instantaneous return of the very same force to arrest the increasing masses of the English. But the root of the evil lay in the *plan*, which, by a natural consequence, entailed these evils: for if Ney had been directed only to observe the British, D'Erlon could have operated on Blucher's right as fatally as Blucher himself did on Napoleon's two days after; and if the Prussians had been only observed on the right, Ney would, with double their strength, have with ease crushed the British at Quatre Bras. Either result would have altered the issue of the campaign, and probably of the war; for we have the authority of Napoleon himself for the assertion, that if the British had been defeated, he would have had little difficulty

with the whole remainder of the Allies, who were preparing to invade the French territory.* And herein we have cause to admire both the firmness and wisdom of Wellington, who so soon arrested the advantage which Napoleon's surprise had, in the outset, given him; and by the tenacity of his resistance at Quatre Bras, at once rendered the vice of that great man's subsequent plan of attack apparent, neutralised his triumph at Ligny, and compensated it by reasserting the old superiority of the British troops against fearful odds in the first conflict of the campaign.

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VII. Blucher acted a gallant and heroic, rather than a prudent part, in giving battle when one of his corps had not yet come up, and the co-operation of Wellington was, on that day, from the tardy concentration of his troops, uncertain, if not nearly hopeless. The superiority of the Allies upon the whole was such, that it was their part to trust nothing to chance; and to avoid giving battle till they were in such a state of proximity to each other, as to be able to calculate on success as a matter of certainty. The mighty soul of Blucher recoiled from the idea of retreating before an enemy whom he had so often conquered, after he had collected an equality of force: and he gave battle in consequence, unsupported, with nearly equal numbers at Ligny. But the result proved, that in so doing, he had miscalculated the relative prowess of the two armies which were now in presence of each other. He was misled by the facility with which, in the former campaigns, the new levies of Prussia had repeatedly overthrown the French forces; forgetting that it was a crowd of dispirited conscripts who were then clustered round the standards of Napoleon; and that it was a very different contest they had now to maintain with the bronzed veterans whom the peace had recently restored to his standards. By resisting as he did, with three-fourths only of his force, and apart from the British, he incurred a great risk for no adequate advantage.

51.
Observations
on Blucher's
conduct.

VIII. In justice, however, to the Prussian general, it must be recollected that he gave battle at Ligny in firm reliance

* "If the English army had been defeated at Waterloo, what would have availed all the multitude of Russians, Austrians, or Prussians, who were crowding to the Rhine, the Alps, or the Pyrenees?" — *NAPOLÉON'S Memoirs*, Book ix. p. 203.

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52.

His excuse.

on the effective co-operation of Wellington's army, sixty thousand strong at least, in the latter part of the day. It was to gain time for their co-operation that he prolonged, with such desperate resolution, the murderous strife in the villages, and all but gave his life to hold his ground. In a word, Blucher did at Ligny, on the 16th, what Wellington did on the 18th at Waterloo; and for the same reason, that he hourly expected a decisive attack from a friendly force on the enemy's flank. And this shows how much the English general's delay in concentrating his army, disconcerted in the outset the plan of the campaign. Wellington's orders to collect his troops, issued at half-past 7 P.M. from Brussels, on the evening of the 15th, produced sixty thousand combatants of all arms at Quatre Bras at 9 A.M. on the morning of the 17th—that is, thirty-eight hours afterwards. Issued at 11 P.M. on the 14th, they would have mustered a similar array at Quatre Bras at 1 P.M. on the 16th; and he might with an overwhelming force have driven Ney back on the Emperor's communications, and done to Napoleon what Blucher afterwards did by his incomparable cross march to Planchenoit from Wavres. The campaign would thus have been secured, and Napoleon overthrown in the very first encounter, without risk to either party. And yet—strange destiny of mortals, or their subjection to a higher power!—such a result, how conformable soever to the rules of war, and the dictates of wisdom, could never have produced the decisive results which the course actually followed did—the result of misinformation on the part of one general, and heroic but imprudent valour on the other. Napoleon would merely have been hurled back with defeat into the French territory, and not led to perdition on a path at first strewn with flowers.

53.
Napoleon
was out-
generaled in
the end.

IX. It follows from the same principles, that as clearly as Napoleon gained the advantage of the Allied generals in the outset, they gained the advantage of him in the close of the campaign. His favourite military manœuvre of interposing between his adversaries, and striking with a superior force first on the right hand and then on the left, was now met and conquered by the method of resistance obviously suited to it—viz. the concentric retreat of the two Allied armies into such close proximity

that, in the event of a general battle, they could mutually support and assist each other. Napoleon committed an obvious military error, when, with the Prussian army, repulsed only, but still unbroken, on his flank, he hazarded all on the desperate chance of defeating the British army before its arrival on the ridge of Waterloo. Wellington acted with true military skill when he resolved to give battle in front of the forest of Soignies, with a promise from Blucher that he would assist him by mid-day with his whole army. That was precisely retaliating upon Napoleon the brilliant attack of Ney on the flank of the Allied armies, by which he had gained the battle of Bautzen.¹ In resisting his furious onset, it is hard to say whether we have most cause to admire the ardent spirit and quick determination which prompted Blucher, so soon after his own defeat, to strain every nerve in order to bring up his troops to the decisive point at Waterloo; or the incomparable constancy and unshaken determination which led Wellington, amidst a sea of carnage, to maintain his ground immovable, till the glancing of the Prussian standards announced the assurance of decisive victory. Prudence should have counselled Napoleon to have retreated, rather than incur the desperate hazard of being assailed, either in the moment of victory or defeat, by fifty thousand fresh troops. A just appreciation of the advantages of their situation, equally with their own heroic spirit, prompted Wellington and Blucher to act as they did on this memorable field. And it is very remarkable that their success would probably have been comparatively incomplete, had it not been for the advantage gained by Napoleon on the 16th over the Prussians at Ligny: for it was that which led Napoleon to believe that the Prussian army was put entirely *hors de combat*, at least for some days, and that he might with safety, even to the eleventh hour, hurl his whole forces, with almost desperate energy, against the British legions in front of Waterloo.

¹ Ante, chap.
lxxv. § 71.

X. It is impossible to estimate too highly the military ability of the Duke of Wellington, alike in his selection of the field of battle, in the disposition which he gave to his troops, and the admirable firmness with which he maintained his ground till the promised succour arrived.

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54.
Admirable
conduct of
Wellington
on the field.

The slightest inspection of the field of Waterloo must be sufficient to convince every observer, that it was in a singular manner adapted for a great defensive stand—being furnished with a gentle slope along its whole front, which, like a regular glacis, exposed the attacking columns to a fire from the summit every step that they advanced; having the farm-houses and enclosures of La Haye Sainte and Hougomont, like so many outworks, to retard the enemy's advance; and the reverse of the hill affording a gentle slope and hollow to the other side, where the troops, invisible to those who stood on the opposite ridge where the French army bivouacked, might be at once in a great measure sheltered from the fire of the enemy's artillery, and at the same time ready to repel the assault of his columns, if, after braving the fire of the British, they reached the summit of the ridge. The forest behind, it is true, presented great, perhaps insurmountable, difficulties to drawing off the artillery and caissons in the event of defeat: but Wellington had no reason to dread that. Even if worsted on the field, the advance of the Prussians must have rendered it impossible for the Emperor to have followed up his advantage. And we have the authority of the first military writer in Europe for the assertion, that, even in the view of a defeat, the choice of the field of Waterloo, with the forest in its rear, was in the circumstances judicious.*

XI. But the advantages of his position, great as they were, would have been as nothing, without the invincible tenacity, heroic courage, and admirable steadiness with which Wellington maintained his ground against greatly superior forces during the terrible conflict, and gained

* “ Nous avons mis au nombre des qualités requises pour une position celle d'offrir une retraite facile : ceci nous mène à l'examen d'une question soulevée par la bataille de Waterloo. Une armée adossée à une forêt, quand elle aurait un bon chemin derrière le centre et chacune des ailes—serait-elle compromise, comme l'a prétendu Napoleon, si elle venait à perdre la bataille ? Pour moi je crois, au contraire, que pareille position serait plus favorable à une retraite qu'un terrain entièrement découvert ; car l'armée battue ne saurait traverser une plaine sans rester exposée au plus grand danger. Sans doute, si la retraite dégénérerait en déroute complète, une partie du canon restée en batterie devant la forêt serait probablement perdue ; mais l'infanterie, la cavalerie, et le surplus de l'artillerie, se retireraient aussi bien qu'à travers une plaine. Si la retraite, au contraire, *se fait en ordre, rien ne saurait mieux la protéger qu'une forêt* : bien entendu, néanmoins, qu'il existe au moins deux bons chemins derrière la ligne, et qu'aucun mouvement latéral n'ait permis à l'ennemi de devancer l'armée à l'issue de la forêt, ainsi que cela eut lieu à Hohenlinden.”—JOMINI, *Art de la Guerre*, 378, 379.

time, at the moment when the fate of Europe quivered in the balance, for the Prussian corps to come up and effect a decisive overthrow. Constancy less immovable, moral courage less unconquerable, would have led to the abandonment of the field when the Prussian troops had not arrived at one o'clock, the hour appointed, and the great superiority of the enemy in effective troops had become apparent; and thus postponed to an indefinite period, perhaps for ever, Napoleon's final destruction. The annals of war do not afford a more striking, perhaps not so striking, an example of the intuitive glance of true military genius, as that which led Wellington to resist, even to the death, in his defensive position, down to the very last moment, and then suddenly hurl his whole troops, with the ocean's mighty sweep, upon the foe.

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1815.

55.

Wisdom of
his stubborn
resistance
there.

XII. In considering the comparative shares which the British and Prussian armies had in the achievement of this glorious victory, an impartial judgment must award the highest part to the British troops. When it is recollected that the British soldiers and King's German Legion in the field did not exceed thirty-seven thousand, and that, including the Hanoverians, the whole troops on whom reliance could be placed were only fifty-two thousand, and that they were assailed, for above five hours, by continual attacks from eighty thousand veteran French, under Napoleon's direction, before even Bulow's Prussians arrived in the field at four o'clock, it must be admitted that this day must ever be reckoned as the proudest of the many proud days of English glory. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the arrival of Bulow's corps at that hour, which compelled Napoleon to detach eleven battalions of his Young and Old Guard to maintain Planche-noit against them, and consequently withdrew them from the field of battle against the English, went far to diminish the superiority, and bring nearer to an equality the military forces of the contending armies. Had they not appeared in force on the field, as they did at half-past seven at night, there can be little doubt that the French army would have been repulsed; because their last attack—that of the Guard—actually was so, before Blucher's standards were seen in the wood issuing from St Lambert, or the

56.

Comparative
merits of the
English and
Prussians at
Waterloo.

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Prussians had taken any part, further than in drawing off from the fight the eleven battalions of the Guard to Planchenoit, by Bulow's vigorous attack at four o'clock. The victory, however, would have been dreadfully hard won, and probably little more than a sterile triumph like that of Talavera, without their co-operation ; and possibly the superiority of the French, if there had been no other army in the field, might have enabled Napoleon to compel the British to retreat, by menacing their flank next day, as he did that of the Russians after the terrible fight of Borodino. It was unquestionably the arrival of the Prussians which rendered the success complete, and converted a bloody repulse into a total overthrow ; and probably, but for the prospect of their co-operation, Wellington would never, with a force so inferior in military strength, have hazarded the risk of so dreadful a conflict.

57.
Effect of
Grouchy not
having come
up.

XIII. The effect of Grouchy's not coming up, and the circumstances of his share in the campaign, have been made the subject of great exaggeration on the part of the French writers. Without doubt, if two-and-thirty thousand French troops had come upon the flank of the British army, without being followed by any Prussians, they might have exposed them to a defeat as signal as Napoleon himself experienced, from a similar attack being made upon him when exhausted by the fight. But *were* Grouchy's troops in a situation to do this? Was he not opposed to, and nearly matched by, the Prussians under Thielman, whom he combated at Wavres?* Had not the Prussian general strict orders to watch Grouchy closely, and in particular to direct his march to Wavres? And what would it have availed the French if the latter had come up to their succour with 32,000, if all Blucher's force, still eighty thousand strong, had in consequence joined Wellington? It is by entirely keeping out of view this important fact of Grouchy being matched at Wavres, and the impossibility of his joining Napoleon

* "Third corps d'armée, Thielman, 33,000 men, 96 guns."—PLOTTO, iv. 55, Appendix. Thielman was engaged, it is true, at Ligny, but so was Grouchy ; and the loss there, could not have materially altered their relative proportions. The force which actually fought at Wavres, indeed, was only 15,400, but that, as already noticed, was the consequence of two Prussian brigades and a battery of artillery, forming part of Thielman's corps, losing their way on the 18th, and so taking no part in the combat. This accident, of course, could have been foreseen by neither party.—CLAUSEWITZ, viii. 194.

without the whole of Blucher's force joining Wellington, that the French have been at all able to elevate into a degree of importance the alleged failure of this marshal to appear in the field at the decisive moment. And whether he did right or wrong in acting as he did, nothing is more certain than that he strictly obeyed his orders, reiterated twice over at ten and one o'clock from the very field of Waterloo; and that, if there was any fault in the case, Napoleon could in justice ascribe it to no one but himself.

XIV. Napoleon's tactics, as well as those of Blucher, on the field of Ligny, were almost exclusively confined to vigorous efforts in order to gain possession of the villages which formed the object of strife between the contending parties, and nourishing the assaulting or defending columns with fresh troops, till the last reserves on the Prussian side were exhausted. It was then for the first time that he made a powerful offensive movement in the open ground. The battle of Lützen was nearly of the same description, as was great part of that of Leipsic. It is difficult to believe that there was any thing erroneous in the system pursued by such consummate commanders on such important occasions. But yet it deserves the consideration of military men, whether there is not much truth in the observation of a recent learned and able military historian,* that too much importance has been attached to the possession of villages in battles; and that if either party can drive the enemy off the open ground, the troops in the villages will be rendered useless, and in all probability made prisoners. Certain it is that Marlborough gained decisive success at Blenheim by pursuing an entirely opposite system; and after his first assault on the village of that name had failed, by reason of the great strength of its French garrison, directing his whole efforts to driving the enemy from the *open* ground between it and the other villages they held, in consequence of which they were enveloped by his victorious battalions, and all the troops they contained, thirteen thousand strong, made prisoners. The truth appears to be, that the attack on villages in a field of battle, as on that of fortified towns in a campaign, is expedient or the reverse according to cir

58.

Napoleon's
tactics in
the battle
of Ligny.

* Colonel Mitchell.—*Life of Napoleon*, iii. 287, 290.

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cumstances. If the parties are nearly matched, and no decisive advantage has been gained on either side, the possession of villages is of great moment, because they form so many *points d'appui*, invaluable in case of local disaster to the troops in the open field. But if one party is greatly superior to the other, either in the number or quality of his troops, it is impolitic to waste time or strength in the assault of villages, where the inferiority of the enemy may be less felt than in the open field, when, by driving him from the ground between them, their garrisons may be rendered useless, or surrounded and made prisoners.

59.
Error in his
tactics at
Waterloo.

XV. The loss of the battle of Waterloo to Napoleon seems to have been mainly owing to the imprudent use he made of nearly his whole cavalry in a desperate strife during the middle of the action, whereby it became, notwithstanding its great numerical strength, so diminished in numbers, depressed in spirit, and worn out by fatigue, that it was unable to oppose any effectual resistance to the incursion of the British horse, in part comparatively fresh, at the close of the day. This is another example of the truth which Napoleon so often repeated, that in battles victory is to the party to whose last reserve the enemy has nothing to oppose. So sensible indeed was Napoleon that his defeat was chiefly owing to this cause, that he said afterwards that the cavalry, in the enthusiasm of the moment, engaged in part *without his orders*. This, however, is not probable, when his imperious character is considered: and it affords another example of what his history so often showed, that he never took blame to himself, if he could, justly or unjustly, lay it on another. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the ultimate success of Wellington was mainly owing to his judicious withdrawal of the cavalry after the important services they had rendered in the early part of the action, and keeping them in reserve, when the enemies' horse were torn in pieces for three hours, during the middle of the strife, by the grape and musketry from the English batteries and squares. Had Napoleon followed a different course: had he husbanded his horse till the close of the action, and then brought up his columns of the Guard, supported by D'Erlon's and Reille's divisions, and screened on

either flank by five thousand of his formidable lancers and cuirassiers, it is difficult to see how it could have been resisted, when it is recollected how nearly it had succeeded without the aid of such flank protection. Both commanders put in practice their favourite modes of action. Napoleon proceeded on the opinion he has so often recorded, that cavalry, if gallantly led, with the aid of artillery, should always be equal to break infantry; and he hazarded them so much in the belief they would gain his object before the Prussians came up. Wellington, with more reason, as the event proved, rested on the experienced steadiness of the British foot-soldiers, and acted on the conviction that their firmness would repel all the assaults of the enemy till his strength was worn out, and the moment had arrived for converting an obstinate defensive into a vehement offensive operation.

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Napoleon and Wellington having risen, by the common consent of men, to the highest rank on their respective sides in the great Revolutionary contest; and the awful strife having been finally determined under their guidance on a single field, like that between Rome and Carthage under the banners of Scipio and Hannibal, the attention of men, to the end of the world, will be forcibly drawn to their characters. We know, after the lapse of two thousand years, with what eagerness we yet dwell on those of the Roman and Carthaginian leaders who met at Zama; and we may anticipate with confidence a similar undying interest in the comparison between the British and French heroes who combated at Waterloo. Happy, indeed, if the pen of the historian could keep pace with the greatness of the subject, and the English language would afford the means of painting, in a few touches, with the hand of Livy or Tacitus, the salient points in the minds of those whose deeds are for ever engraven on the records of mankind!

60.
Parallel of
Napoleon
and Wel-
lington.

Napoleon and Wellington were not merely individual characters: they were the types of the powers which they respectively headed in the contest. Napoleon had brighter genius, Wellington superior judgment: the former combated with greater energy, the latter with more perseverance. Rapid in design, instant in execu-

61.
Their points
of difference.

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tion, the strokes of the French hero fell like the burning thunderbolt: cautious in counsel, yet firm in action, the resources of the British champion multiplied, like the vigour of vegetation, after the withering stroke had fallen. No campaign of Wellington's equals in energy and activity those of Napoleon in Italy and in France: none of Napoleon's approaches in foresight and wisdom that of Wellington at Torres Vedras. The vehemence of the French Emperor would have exhausted, in a single season, the whole resources which, during the war, were at the disposal of the English general; the caution of Wellington would have alienated in the very beginning the troops which overflowed with the passions of the Revolution. Ardour and onset were alike imposed on the former by his situation, and suggested by his disposition: foresight and perseverance were equally dictated to the latter by his necessities, and in unison with his character. The one wielded at pleasure the military resources of the half of Europe, and governed a nation heedless of consequences, covetous of glory, reckless of slaughter: the other led the forces of a people distrustful of its prowess, avaricious of its blood, but invincible in its determination. And the result, both in the general war and final struggle, was in entire conformity with this distinction. Wellington retired in the outset before the fierce assault of the French legions, but he saw them, for the first time since the Revolution, permanently recoil in defeat from the rocks of Torres Vedras: he was at first repeatedly expelled from Spain, but at last he drove the invaders with disgrace across the Pyrenees. He was in the beginning assailed unawares, and wellnigh overpowered in Flanders; but in the end he baffled all Napoleon's efforts, and, rising up with the strength of a giant, crushed at once his army and his empire on the field of Waterloo.

62.
Contrast of
their moral
characters.

The personal and moral character of the two chiefs was still more strikingly opposed, and emblematic of the sides they severally led. Both were distinguished by the unwearied perseverance, the steady purpose, the magnanimous soul, which are essential to glorious achievements: both were provident in council, and vigorous in execution: both possessed personal intrepidity in the

highest degree: both were indefatigable in activity, and iron in constitution: both enjoyed the rarer qualities of moral courage and fearless determination. But, in other respects, their minds were as opposite as are the poles asunder. Napoleon was covetous of glory, Wellington was impressed with duty: Napoleon was reckless of slaughter, Wellington was sparing of blood: Napoleon was careless of his word, Wellington was inviolate in faith. Treaties were regarded by the former as binding only when expedient—alliances valid only when useful: obligations were regarded by the latter as obligatory, though ruinous; conventions as sacred, even when disgraceful. Napoleon's wasting warfare converted allies into enemies; Wellington's protecting discipline changed enemies into friends. The former fell, because all Europe rose up against his oppression; the latter triumphed, because all Europe joined to place itself under his guidance. There is not a proclamation of Napoleon to his soldiers, in which glory is not mentioned, nor one in which duty is alluded to: there is not an order of Wellington to his troops, in which duty is not inculcated, nor one in which glory is mentioned.

The intellectual character of the two heroes exhibited the same distinctive features as their military career and moral qualities. No man ever surpassed Napoleon in the clearness of his ideas, or the stretch of his glance into the depths of futurity; but he was often misled by the vigour of his conceptions, and mistook the dazzling brilliancy of his own genius for the steady light of truth. With less ardour of imagination, less originality of thought, less creative genius, Wellington had more justness of judgment, and a far greater power of discriminating error from truth. The young and the ardent who have life before them, will ever turn to the St Helena memoirs for the views of a mind of the most profound and original cast, on the most important subjects of human thought. The mature and the experienced who have known its vicissitudes, will rest with more confidence on the "Maxims and Opinions" of Wellington, and marvel at the numerous instances in which his instinctive sagacity and prophetic judgment had, in opposition to all around him, beheld the shadow of coming events amidst

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63.

Difference in
their intellec-
tual charac-
ters.

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64.
And ruling
principles
of action.

the clouds with which he was surrounded. No one can read the speculations of the French Emperor without admiration at the brilliancy of his ideas, and the originality of his conceptions: none can peruse the maxims of the English general, without closing the book at every page to meditate on the wisdom and justice of his opinions. The genius of the former shared in the fire of Homer's imagination: the mind of the latter exhibited the depth of Bacon's intellect.

But it was in the prevailing moral principles by which they were regulated, that the distinctive character of their minds was most striking and important. Singleness of heart was the characteristic of the British hero, a sense of duty his ruling principle: ambition pervaded the French conqueror, a thirst for glory was his invincible incentive; but he veiled it to others, and perhaps to himself, under the name of patriotic spirit. The former proceeded on the belief, that the means, if justifiable, would finally work out the end; the latter, on the maxim that the end would in every case justify the means. Napoleon placed himself at the head of Europe, and desolated it for fifteen years with his warfare: Europe placed Wellington at the head of its armies, and he gave it thirty years of unbroken peace. The former thought only in peace of accumulating the resources of future war: the latter sought only in war the means of securing future peace, and finally sheathing the sword of conquest. The one exhibited the most shining example of splendid talents devoted to temporal ambition and national aggrandisement; the other, the noblest instance of moral influence directed to exalted purposes and national preservation. The former was in the end led to ruin, while blindly pursuing the meteor of worldly greatness; the latter was unambitiously conducted to final greatness, while only following the star of public duty. The struggle between them was the same at bottom as that which, anterior to the creation of man, shook the powers of heaven; and never was such an example of moral government afforded as the final result of their immortal contest. Wellington was a warrior, but he was so only to become a pacificator; he has shed the blood of man, but it was only to stop the shedding of human

blood ; he has borne aloft the sword of conquest, but it was only to plant in its stead the emblems of mercy. He has conquered the love of glory, the last infirmity of noble minds, by the love of peace, the first grace of the Christian character.

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“ Pulchrum eminere est inter illustres viros ;
Consulere patriæ ; parcere afflictis ; fera
Cæde abstinere ; tempus atque iræ dare
Orbi quietem, seculo pacem suo.
Haec summa virtus ; petitur hâc cœlum viâ.”

APPENDIX.

CHAPTER XCIII.

Appendix A, page 285.

Public Income of Great Britain for the Year ending 5th January 1816.

HEADS OF REVENUE :—

Ordinary Revenue. Permanent and Annual Taxes.

	Gross Produce.	Net Produce.
Customs, - - - - -	£11,807,322 12 1 $\frac{3}{4}$	£9,070,554 13 7
Excise, - - - - -	23,370,055 8 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	20,539,028 14 11
Stamps, - - - - -	6,492,804 14 10	6,139,585 8 9 $\frac{1}{4}$
Land and Assessed Taxes, -	7,611,938 4 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	7,609,016 10 11
Post Office, - - - - -	2,349,519 0 10	1,755,898 2 1
Pensions and } 1s. in the pound, -	20,280 19 1	19,908 15 2
Salaries, } 6d. .. -	11,776 6 6	11,138 0 3
Hackney Coaches, - - - - -	29,283 14 10	24,721 9 8
Hawkers and Pedlars, - - - - -	21,591 10 2	18,516 9 0
Total Permanent and Annual Duties, - - - - -	£51,014,572 11 5$\frac{3}{4}$	£45,188,368 4 4$\frac{1}{4}$

Small Branches of the Hereditary Revenue.

Alienation Fines, - - - - -	£11,769 15 5	£10,620 7 5
Post Fines, - - - - -	6,380 4 6	6,284 15 2
Seizures, - - - - -	9,415 7 2	9,445 7 2
Compositions and Proffers, - - -	626 15 4	626 15 4
Crown Lands, - - - - -	145,146 13 8	142,761 9 2
Carry forward, - - -		

	Gross Produce.	Net Produce.
Brought forward, -		
<i>Extraordinary Resources.</i>		
War Taxes.		
Customs, - - - - -	£2,841,406 1 7	£2,280,634 17 8
Excise, - - - - -	6,737,028 19 0	6,667,776 18 6
Property Tax, - - - - -	15,277,499 9 4	14,978,248 18 2
Arrears of Income Duty, &c., -	313 19 1	308 5 9
Lottery, net profit, (one-third for the service of Ireland,) - - - -	327,906 13 4	304,651 10 6
Monies paid on account of the Interest of Loans raised for the service of Ireland, - - - - -	3,981,783 6 2	3,981,783 6 2
On account of balance due by Ireland on joint expenditure of the United Kingdom, - - - - -	6,107,986 12 3	6,107,986 12 3
On account of the Commissioners for Grenada Exchequer Bills, -	25,000 0 0	25,000 0 0
On account of the interest, &c., of a loan granted to the Prince Regent of Portugal, - - - - -	28,585 1 6	28,585 1 6
Surplus Fees of Regulated Public Offices, - - - - -	98,750 13 2	98,750 13 2
Imprest Monies repaid, and other Monies paid to the Public, - -	107,836 16 10	107,836 16 10
Total War Taxes, - - - - -	30,607,455 8 4	34,751,301 15 5
Permanent do., - - - - -	50,114,583 11 6	45,188,368 3 9
Total, without Loans, - - -	86,722,038 19 10	79,939,669 19 2
Loans paid into Exchequer, (including amount raised for service of Ireland,) - - - - -	39,421,959 2 0	39,421,959 2 0
Grand total, - - - - -	£126,143,998 1 10	£119,361,629 1 2

—*Annual Register for 1816, p. 420.*

Public Expenditure of Great Britain, year ending 5th January 1816.

1. For interest of the National Debt, and charges of the Sinking Fund, - - - - -	£41,015,527 10 0
2. Interest on Exchequer Bills, - - - - -	3,014,003 3 8
3. Civil List, Courts of Justice, Mint, Allowance to Royal Family, Salaries and Allowances, Bounties, -	1,555,408 6 4
4. Civil Government of Scotland, - - - - -	126,613 11 9
5. Other Payments in anticipation of the Exchequer Receipts—viz. Bounties for Fisheries, Manufactures, Corn, Pensions on the Hereditary Revenue, Militia, and Deserters' Warrants, - - - - -	364,117 14 5
6. The Navy, - - - - -	16,371,870 7 5
7. Ordnance, - - - - -	3,736,424 17 3
8. Army—viz. :	
Ordinary Services, - - -	£21,333,831 10 8
Extraordinary Services, -	1,843,992 16 10
	23,177,8 4 17 6
Carry forward - - - - -	

Brought forward, - - - - -			
9. Loans, &c., to other Countries—viz.:			
Ireland, - - - - -	£7,277,032	8	8
Austria, - - - - -	1,795,229	8	8
Russia, - - - - -	3,241,919	7	0
Prussia, - - - - -	2,382,823	14	8
Hanover, - - - - -	206,590	6	4
Spain, - - - - -	147,333	19	10
Portugal, - - - - -	100,000	0	0
Sweden, - - - - -	521,061	17	1
France, Canton of Berne, Italy, and Netherlands, - - - - -	78,152	14	2
Minor Powers, under engage- ments with the Duke of Wel- lington, - - - - -	1,724,001	8	4
Miscellaneous, - - - - -	837,134	17	0
		18,312,280	1 9
10. Miscellaneous Services, - - - - -		3,371,178	13 8
Total, - - - - -		111,045,249	3 9
Deduct sums, which, although included in this account, form no part of the expenditure of Great Britain— viz.: Loans, &c. for Ireland, interest £1 per cent, and management on Portuguese Loan, Sinking Fund, on loan to the East India Company, &c. -		7,460,734	4 8
Total, - - - - -		£103,584,514	19 1

—*Annual Register for 1816, pp. 429, 430.*

Table, showing the state of the National Debt of Great Britain on 1st February 1816.

I. FUNDED DEBT.

	Total Capitals.	Annual Interest.	Total of An- nual Expenses.
Total Debt of Great Britain,	£724,092,611	£25,091,785	£37,203,412
.. Ireland, pay- able in Great Britain,	103,032,750	3,194,966	4,393,715
.. Amount of loans to the Emperor of Germany, payable in ditto, - -	7,502,633	225,079	495,675
.. Amount of loans to the Prince Regent of Por- tugal, payable in ditto, -	895,522	26,865	57,047
	£835,523,516	£28,538,695	£42,149,849
In the hands of the Commis- sioners for the reduction of debt, - - -	40,392,540	1,211,776	..
Carry forward, -	£795,130,976	£27,326,919	..

	Total Capitals.	Annual Interest.	Total of Annual Expenses
	£	£	£
Brought forward,			
Transferred to the Commissioners by purchasers of life annuities, pursuant to Act 48 Geo. III. c. 142,	- 3,097,551	92,926	..
Total charge for debt, British and Irish, payable in Great Britain, - - -	£792,033,425	£27,233,993	£42,149,849

II. UNFUNDED DEBT.

Exchequer—

	Amount.	Outstanding.
Exchequer bills provided for, - -	£19,772,800	
.. unprovided for, - -	21,669,100	
		£41,441,900
Treasury—		
Miscellaneous services, - - -	530,535	
Warrants for army service, - - -	20,615	
Treasury bills, - - -	1,005,514	
		1,556,664
Army, - - - - -		1,030,109
Barracks, - - - - -		125,005
Ordnance, - - - - -		876,857
Navy, - - - - -		3,694,821
Civil list advances, - - - - -		..
	Total, -	£48,725,356
	Summary.	
Total funded debt, - - - - -		792,033,425
Total unfunded debt, - - - - -		48,725,356
Grand total of national debt at the close of the war,		£840,758,781

—*Annual Register for the year 1816*, pp. 434, 435.

Public Funded Debt of Great Britain on 1st February 1816.

An account of the progress made in the redemption of the Public Funded Debt of Great Britain at 1st February 1816:—

Funds.	Capitals.	Redeemed by Commissioners from 1st August 1786, to 1st February 1816.	Total sums paid by Commissioners.
Total stock created for sums borrowed, - -	£1,000,986,526	£273,418,402	£172,009,352
Transferred to the Commissioners on account of land-tax redeemed,	25,155,056		
	£975,831,470		
Ditto for purchase of life annuities, per 48 Geo. III. - - - -	3,097,551		
Carry forward,	£972,733,919		

Funds.	Capitals.	Redeemed by Commissioners from 1st August 1786, to 1st Feb- ruary 1816.	Total sums paid by Com- missioners.
Brought forward,	£972,733,919	..	..
Redeemed by the Com- missioners, - - -	<u>273,418,402</u>		
Debt of Great Britain, exclusive of Ireland, unredeemed at 1st February 1816, - -	£699,315,517	..	..
— <i>Annual Register for 1816, p. 431.</i>			

Note B and C, pages 307 and 309.

I. FRENCH FORCE.

Army with which Napoleon entered Flanders on the 15th of June 1815.

Corps, Commanders, and Divisions:	Infantry.	Force of each division.		
		Cavalry.	Artillery-men.	Guns.
1st Corps—Count D'Erlon.				
1st division, ..	4,120	..	160	8
2d	4,100	..	160	8
3d	4,000	..	160	8
4th	4,000	..	160	8
1st division of cavalry, ..	..	1,500	120	6
Reserve of artillery, ..	..	..	160	8
Force of 1st corps : men 18,640, cannon 46.				
2d Corps—Count Reille.				
5th division, ..	5,000	..	160	8
6th	6,100	..	160	8
7th	5,000	..	160	8
9th	5,000	..	160	8
2d division of cavalry, ..	..	1,500	120	6
Reserve of artillery, ..	..	..	170	8
Force of 2d corps : men 23,530, cannon 46.				
3d Corps—Count Vandamme.				
10th division, ..	4,430	..	160	8
11th	4,300	..	160	8
8th	4,300	..	160	8
3d division of cavalry, ..	..	1,500	120	6
Reserve of artillery, ..	..	..	180	8
Force of 3d corps : men 15,290, cannon 38.				
4th Corps—Count Gerard.				
12th division, ..	4,000	..	160	8
13th	4,000	..	160	8
14th	4,000	..	160	8
6th division of cavalry, ..	..	1,500	120	6
Reserve of artillery, ..	..	..	160	8
Force of 4th corps : men 14,260, cannon 38.				

Corps, Commanders, and Divisions.	Infantry.	Force of each division.		
		Cavalry.	Artillery-men.	Guns.
6th Corps—Count Lobau.				
19th division, ..	3,500	..	170	8
20th	3,500	..	160	8
21st	4,000	..	160	8
Reserve of artillery, ..	..	..	280	14
Force of 6th corps: men 11,770, cannon 38.				

Imperial Guard:—

Young Guard, ..	3,800	..	320	16
Chasseurs, ..	4,250	..	320	16
Grenadiers, ..	4,420	..	320	16
Light Cavalry, ..	..	2,120	240	12
Cavalry of Reserve, ..	..	2,010	240	12
Artillery of Reserve, ..	..	..	480	24

Reserve Cavalry under Marshal
Grouchy:—

1. Corps—Count Pajol,	{ 4th	..	1,820	120	6
	{ 5th	..	1,420	120	6
2. .. Excelmans,	{ 9th	..	1,300	120	6
	{ 10th	..	1,300	120	6
3. .. Kellerman,	{ 11th	..	1,310	120	6
	{ 12th	..	1,300	120	6
4. .. Milhaud,	{ 13th	..	1,300	120	6
	{ 14th	..	1,300	120	6
Total, - -		85,820	20,460	7,020	350

Engineers, Pontoons, Sappers, Drivers, &c.	9,184
Grand total, - - - - -	122,464

—GOURGAUD, *Campagne de 1815*, p. 150; VAUDONCOURT, iv. 108; PLOTHO, iv. *Appendix*, pp. 8, 9; and NAPOLEON, ix. *Book 71*.

II. Wellington's whole Army at the opening of the Campaign,
Effective and Non-Effective.

British and King's German Legion,	- - - - -	43,236
Hanoverians, - - - - -	- - - - -	10,447
Brunswickers, - - - - -	- - - - -	8,000
Belgian and Nassau troops,	- - - - -	28,387

Total, -		90,070
Under Wellington's orders, but who had not arrived at the opening of the campaign,		
Hanse troops, - - - - -	- - - - -	4,000
Danes, - - - - -	- - - - -	12,000
Grand total, -		106,070

—PLOTHO, iv. *App.* 45.

Note D and F, pages 334 and 343.

WELLINGTON'S ARMY AT WATERLOO.

1. British and King's German Legion,										Effective
Infantry—viz.:										men.
Officers,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,077
Sergeants, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,189
Trumpeters, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	500
Rank and file,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17,895
										20,661
Cavalry—viz:										
Officers,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	521
Sergeants, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	641
Trumpeters, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	125
Rank and file,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7,448
										8,735
Artillery, Engineers, &c.—viz.:										
Officers,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	291
Sergeants, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	231
Trumpeters, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	75
Rank and file,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,280
										6,877
General Summary—viz.:										
English Infantry,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20,661
.. Cavalry,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8,735
.. Artillery and Engineers,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,877
British and King's German Legion,								Total,	-	36,273
2. Hanoverians—viz.:										
Infantry,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,312
Cavalry, (Estorff's brigade,)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,135
Hanoverians,								Total,	-	7,447
3. Brunswickers,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,962
4 Belgians,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17,724
5. Nassau troops,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,280
								Total,	-	69,686

Abstract.—Total of Wellington's Army at Waterloo.

British and King's German Legion,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36,273
Hanoverians,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7,447
Brunswickers,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,962
Belgians,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17,724
Nassau troops,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,280
								Total,	-	69,686

—SIBORNE, i. 460, 461; and GURWOOD, xii. 487.

STRENGTH OF THE BRITISH ARMY ON THE MORNING OF THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

BRITISH AND KING'S GERMAN LEGION ONLY.

18TH JUNE 1815.

DIVISIONS.	BRIGADES.	REGIMENTS.	STATIONS.	OFFICERS.				TROOP QUARTER-MASTERS AND SERGEANTS.				TRUMPETERS OR DRUMMERS.				RANK AND FILE.								
				Field Officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Present.	Present.	Absent.	Command.	Total.	Present.	Present.	Absent.	Command.	Total.	Present.	Present.	Absent.	Command.	Prisoners of War and Missing	Total Rank and File.	
Artillery, Engineers, etc.,		Royal Artillery Artillery, K.G.L. Royal Engineers — Sappers and Miners — Waggon Train — Staff Corps		8	50	91	26	152	9	-	-	-	161	44	4,573	306	17	9	4,914					
				2	5	12	6	20	-	-	-	21	6	520	73	-	-	622						
				1	17	29	-	33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
				1	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
				1	2	9	4	17	-	-	-	35	2	683	10	8	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	718
				1	4	11	2	9	-	-	-	20	4	266	-	3	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	279
				1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	238	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	243
				13	78	162	38	231	9	-	6	96	75	6,280	394	28	65	6,776						
				1	3	4	4	19	-	-	3	18	14	210	10	1	7	228						
				1	4	8	3	19	-	-	2	17	3	197	-	4	30	231						
Cavalry	1st Lord E. Somerset. 2nd Ponsonby. 3d Dornberg. 4th Vandeleur. 5th Grant. 6th Vivian. 7th Arents-childt.	{ 1st Life Guards 2nd Royal Horse Guards 1st Dragoon Guards 1st Dragoons 2nd Dragoons 6th Dragoons 1st Lt. Drags., K.G.L. 2nd Dragoons 23d Light Dragoons 11th Dragoons 12th Dragoons 16th Dragoons 7th Hussars 15th Hussars 1st Hussars 10th Hussars 18th Hussars 3d Light Dragoons 13th Light Dragoons	Position in front of Waterloo.	2	4	7	1	46	-	1	4	20	4	213	-	9	15	237						
				1	9	14	4	20	-	-	-	47	8	515	12	-	3	22	530					
				2	5	15	6	30	-	-	-	28	6	364	7	1	10	391						
				3	6	13	6	33	1	-	-	34	6	375	1	5	5	396						
				2	6	12	6	29	1	-	-	30	6	384	7	-	27	511						
				2	9	15	7	48	-	2	5	54	10	443	6	20	15	528						
				4	8	14	6	30	1	1	3	41	10	433	14	37	13	587						
				3	6	12	5	22	-	-	-	26	6	368	-	39	45	390						
				2	6	14	5	34	-	-	-	34	4	363	3	1	-	388						
				2	7	12	5	34	-	-	-	34	4	362	5	-	22	393						
				2	6	17	6	36	-	5	6	36	5	316	-	16	34	380						
				1	4	9	4	23	-	-	-	34	6	383	3	-	6	392						
				2	7	13	6	30	-	-	-	30	6	498	16	6	93	613						
				2	9	17	7	44	2	-	8	33	9	389	-	1	1	390						
				3	7	11	5	31	-	-	1	32	6	378	5	8	8	396						
				1	4	14	6	33	-	-	-	33	6	590	26	149	1	787						
				2	10	20	5	46	2	1	14	63	11	380	7	1	1	390						
				1	7	15	5	34	-	-	-	34	6	-	-	-	472	88	8,352					
				Total Cavalry,				38	128	252	103	641	7	19	50	498	125	7,448	119	148	472	88		

[illegible]

III. *Prussian troops under Blucher who took part in the Campaign.*

	Men.	Bat.	Esq.	Batrs.	Can.
The 1st corps d'armée under Gen. Ziethen,	34,800	34	32	12	96
2d under Gen. Kleist,	36,000	36	36	12	96
3d under Gen. Thielman,	33,000	33	32	12	96
4th under Gen. Bulow,	37,800	36	48	12	96
	141,600	139	148	48	384

IV. *Prussian force that advanced upon Waterloo, after deducting the loss at Ligny.*

	Men.	Bat.	Esq.	Batrs.	Can.
The 1st corps d'armée under Gen. Ziethen,	27,000	34	32	12	91
2d under Gen. Kleist,	29,000	36	36	12	91
4th under Gen. Bulow,	30,000	36	48	12	91
	86,000	106	116	36	273
Total,					
Deduct one-half of the second corps } which did not come into action, }	14,000	18	18	6	45
Total Prussian corps which advanced } to Waterloo, of whom about 40,000 } were actually under fire, }	72,000	88	98	30	228

—PLOTHO, iv. *Appendix*, pp. 36, 55.

V. *Force commanded by Napoleon and Ney at Ligny and Quatre Bras, on March 16th.*

At Ligny.		At Quatre Bras.	
Infantry,	53,500	Infantry,	32,320
Cavalry,	12,730	Cavalry,	7,710
Artillery,	4,850	Artillery,	2,170
	71,080		42,200
With 242 guns,		With 108 guns.	

Note E, p. 343.

French Force which fought at Waterloo, according to Gourgaud.

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	
			Men.	Guns.
1st Corps—D'Erlon.				
4 divisions of infantry, - -	16,220	..	..	..
1 division cavalry, - -	..	1,400	..	..
Artillery, - -	..	..	900	46
3 divisions of infantry, - -	12,640	..	..	..
2d Corps—Reille.				
1 division of cavalry, - -	..	1,300	..	..
Artillery, - -	..	..	710	38
3d Corps.				
1 division (Dumont) attached to 6th corps, ..		1,370	..	..
6th Corps—Lobau.				
2 divisions of infantry, - -	7,000	..	..	..
	35,860	4,070	1,610	84
Carry forward,				

				Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	
						Men.	Guns
	Brought forward,			35,860	4,070	1,610	84
Artillery,	-	-	-	..	..	610	30
Imperial Guard.							
Young Guard (Duhesme,)	-	-	-	3,800	..	..	..
Middle Guard,	-	-	-	4,200	..	..	..
Old Guard,	-	-	-	4,400	..	..	..
Cavalry of reserve,	-	-	-	..	2,100	..	..
Cavalry (grenadiers and dragoons,)	-	-	-	..	2,000	..	..
Artillery,	-	-	-	..	..	1,920	96
Cuirassiers—Kellerman.							
2 divisions,	-	-	-	..	2,330	..	..
Artillery,	-	-	-	..	..	220	12
Cuirassiers—Milhaud.							
2 divisions,	-	-	-	..	2,530	..	..
Artillery,	-	-	-	..	..	210	12
Corps of Pajol.							
1 division (Subervich,)	-	-	-	..	1,130	..	..
Artillery,	-	-	-	..	..	110	6
				48,260	14,160	4,680	240
				Men in line,		67,100	
				Sappers, drivers, engineers, &c.		7,000	
						74,100	
Total,							240
Cannon,							

Force under Marshal Grouchy at Wavres.

Infantry,	..	25,520
Cavalry,	..	4,870
Artillery,	..	1,830
Men,		32,220, with 110 guns.

General Abstract.

		Men.	Guns.
Army under Napoleon at Waterloo,		74,100	.. 240
With Grouchy at Wavres,		32,220	.. 110
Loss at Ligny,	-	6,800	..
At Quatre Bras,	-	4,140	..
Grand total,		117,260	350

—GOURGAUD, *Camp. de 1815, Tables*, pp. 150 and pp. 71, 72.

This is the statement given by Gourgaud; but there can be no doubt it is below the truth, as Ney's corps set down here (the first) as only 18,640 men, was stated by Ney himself, shortly after the battle, to have amounted to between 25,000 and 30,000. And as Gourgaud himself states the force with which Napoleon crossed the frontier at 122,464 men, it is evident that the force which fought at Waterloo must have been at least 80,000 men.—See NEY's *Letter to FOUCHÉ*, June 26, 1815.—Given in JONES' *Battle of Waterloo*, 262.

Note G, page 343.

Account of the Charge of the Heavy Brigade at Waterloo.

“Orders were now given that we were to prepare to charge. We gave our countrymen in front of us three hearty huzzas, and waving our swords aloft in

the air, several swords were struck with balls while so doing; and I must not forget the piper—

‘ The piper loud and louder blew,
The balls of all denominations quick and quicker flew.’

The Highlanders were then ordered to wheel back—I think by sections, but I am not certain: infantry words of command differ from the cavalry. When they had, and were wheeling back imperfectly, we rushed through them; at the same time they huzzaed us, calling out, ‘*Now, my boys—Scotland for ever!*’ I must own it had a thrilling effect upon me. I am certain numbers of them were knocked over by the horses: in our anxiety we could not help it. Some said, ‘I didna think ye wad hae saired me sae’—catching hold of our legs and stirrups, as we passed, to support themselves. When we got clear through the Highlanders, (92d,) we were now on the charge, and a short one it was. A cross road being in our way, we leaped the first hedge gallantly; crossed the road, and had to leap over another hedge. At this time the smoke from the firing on both sides made it so that we could not see distinctly. We had not charged far—not many yards, till we came to a column. We were pretty well together as yet, although a great number fell about that cross road. We were in the column in a very short time, (making pretty clean work.) We still pushed forward, at least as many as could—a number had dropped off by this time—and soon came to another column. They cried out, ‘Prisoners!’ and threw down their arms, and stripped themselves of their belts, (I think it is part of the French discipline to do so,) and ran to our rear. Ay, they ran like hares! We still pushed on, and came upon another column; and some of them went down on their knees, calling out ‘Quarter!’ in a very supplicatory way. The answer generally was, ‘Well, go to the rear, (pointing to our rear,) d—n ye!’ We now got amongst the guns, the terrible guns, which had annoyed us so much. *Such slaughtering!*—men cut down and run through, horses houghed, harness cut, and all rendered useless. Some, who were judges of such work, reckoned we had made a very good job of it. Amongst the guns—I think six or seven in number, all brass—that I was engaged with, mostly all the men were cut down, and the horses, most of them, if not all, were houghed. While we were at work amongst these guns, never thinking but, when we were done with it, we would have nothing to do but to return from where we came; but I must own I was very much surprised when we began to retrace our steps, when, what should we behold coming away across betwixt us and our own army but a great number of these cuirassiers and lancers, the first I ever beheld in my life, who were forming up in order to cut off our retreat; but, nothing daunted, we faced them manfully. We had none to command us now, but every man did what he could. ‘Conquer or die!’ was the word. When the regiment returned from the charge mentioned, the troop that I belonged to did not muster above one or two sound men (unwounded) belonging to the front rank. Indeed the whole troop did not muster above a dozen; there were upwards of twenty of the front rank killed, and the others wounded.”—*MS. Account of the Battle by MR JAMES ARMOUR, Rough-Rider to the Scots Greys.*

END OF VOL. XIX.

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